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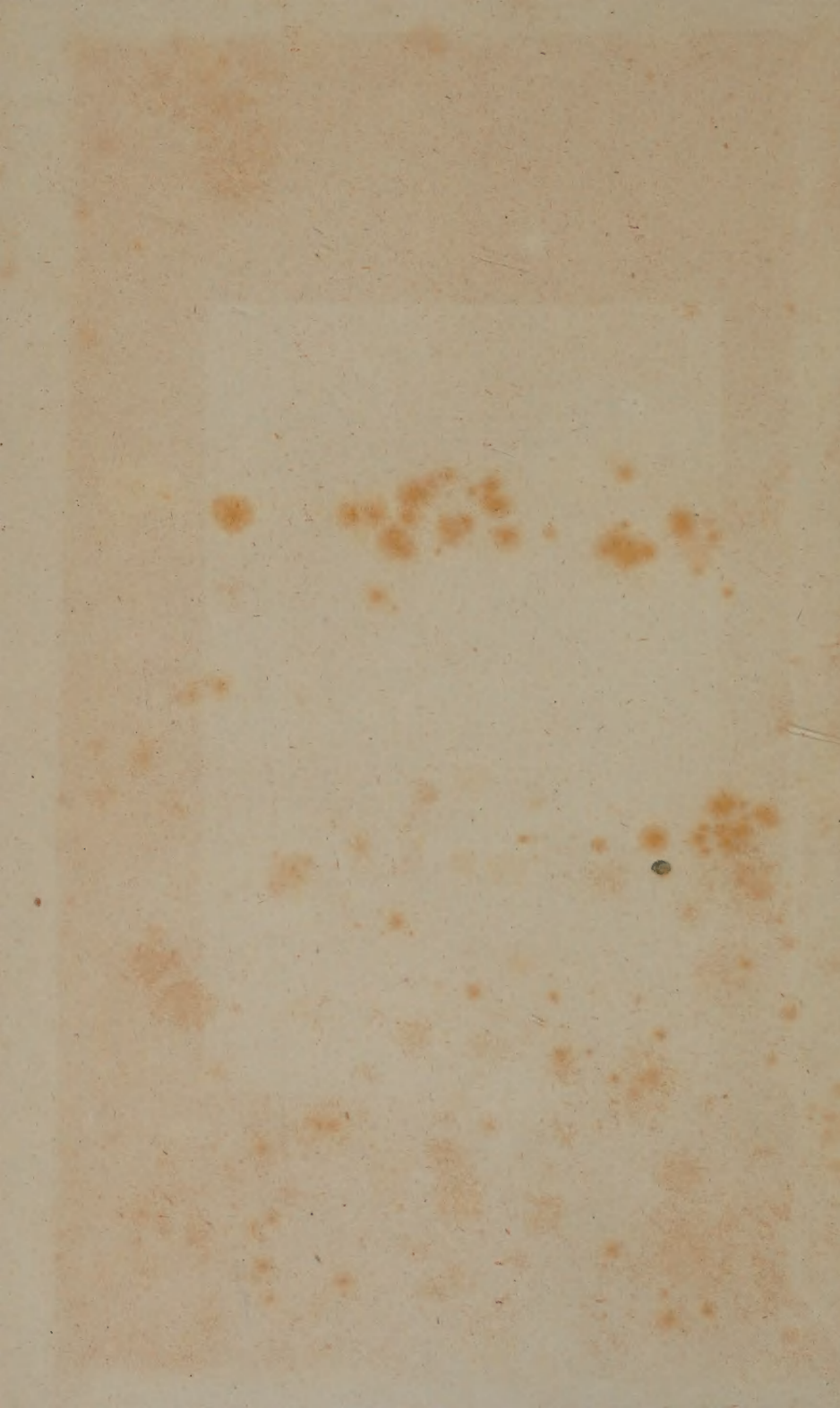
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The Thirty-Nine Articles of the
Church of England.

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Theology

THE
THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES

OF THE

Church of England

EXPLAINED IN A SERIES OF LECTURES

BY THE REV.

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TO
THE THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS
OF
KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON,
These Lectures
ARE DEDICATED
IN LOVING MEMORY
OF ONE
WHOSE MOST EARNEST DESIRE WAS
TO INSPIRE IN THEM
THAT STRONG FAITH IN THE TRUTHS
OF OUR RELIGION
WHICH MADE HIS OWN LIFE
PEACEFUL TO HIMSELF
AND
BEAUTIFUL TO HIS FRIENDS.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE Lectures which are contained in this volume were delivered by the late Dr. Jelf, as Principal of King's College, London, both to his class of theological students, and also, with some few omissions, to the general students in the College. He was deeply impressed with the importance of training those who were under his charge in the full truths of the Church, and of taking care that all its members, even those who were not destined for Holy Orders, should be, if not theologians, at least able to give a rational account of the faith which they professed. And it was his conviction that no more suitable basis could be found for lectures with this object than the Articles of the Church of England, which appeared to him, both in their substance and their arrangement, to set forth definitely the position of our National Church. They uphold her claims, primarily and essentially, to be Catholic, as maintaining and putting forth in the forefront of her Confession the fundamental truths of Christianity,

and adhering to the doctrine and discipline of the primitive Church ; and they also justify her historical attitude as a Protestant Church, forced by the faults of those around her, and especially of the Church of Rome, to condemn in express terms the errors and corruptions which prevailed, in one direction or another, throughout Christendom.

Having chosen his subject deliberately, Dr. Jelf adhered to it throughout his tenure of office ; and these Lectures, which were first written in 1847, within three years of his appointment to the Principalship of King's College, he continued to deliver, with but little substantial alteration, down to the time when he resigned that post in 1868. Additions and corrections were indeed continually made to the very last, but nothing was done to alter the general character of the Lectures, and they may be taken to represent the author's unvarying opinions for a quarter of a century, and as typical of the share which he took in educating his generation.

On the death of Dr. Jelf in 1871 the MS. of his Lectures was placed in my hands with a view to their publication. The early portion had been recently written afresh by the author, apparently with the intention of publishing them himself ; but on a comparison of the copy so revised with the original MS. of the same part, which still existed, it was clear that nothing new had been introduced beyond the embodiment of the various additions or

alterations which had from time to time been made. It has been my endeavour simply to carry out this task ; and in the case of those Articles on which Dr. Jelf had lectured I have sought to add nothing fresh, save an occasional reference, and now and then the completion of a sentence when the thought was already clearly indicated. One or two of the Lectures are consequently placed before the reader in a somewhat incomplete form ; representing rather the outline, which was doubtless filled in at the time by the lecturer, than the finished work ; but it was considered better to leave it so, than to diminish from the authority of the work by mixing up my own thoughts and views with the results of Dr. Jelf's maturer judgment.

Accordingly even the Lecture on the Thirty-second Article, which is little more than a sketch, and that on the Thirty-seventh, which leaves certain clauses unnoticed, have been printed exactly as they were found ; and the only portion of the work in which I am myself responsible for the matter consists in the commentary on certain Articles which were wholly omitted from the series of Lectures, as requiring but little proof or illustration. This portion comprises Articles xxxiii.-xxxvi., xxxviii., and xxxix. ; and in filling it up with a view of making the work complete as a text-book on the Articles, I have tried to follow as closely as I could the method of Dr. Jelf, with as much brevity as should be consistent with clearness and sufficiency of explanation.

It has been thought well to publish this work, partly as a fair specimen of the labours of a man whose whole life was devoted to the service of the Church, and who showed in that service singular simplicity of thought and evenness of judgment, combined with the most loving Christian charity ; partly in the hope that such an exposition of the Articles, according to their literal and natural meaning, may be of use in a wider sphere than it has hitherto reached and bear good witness to the claim of the Church of England, in all the thoroughness and integrity of its teaching, to be essentially Catholic and Scriptural.

JOHN R. KING.

ST. PETER'S VICARAGE, OXFORD,

Easter, 1873.

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INTRODUCTION.

MY choice of the Thirty-nine Articles as the subject of these Lectures has been decided by the following considerations. The great basis of all religious practice is religious truth. Now religious truth, like every other truth, is best comprehended when presented in a systematic form. That branch of theology which treats of doctrines or religious truths systematically is called Dogmatic Theology; but as that is a science of great complexity and extent, it is obviously necessary, in a case like ours, to make some selection. And in considering the best way of initiating you into the principles of Dogmatic Theology, it is manifest that the teaching of the Church of which we are members demands our first attention, not only as English Churchmen, but also as students in a College which is founded with especial reference to this very object. The part of this teaching which I have selected is "The Book of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, as passed in the Synod of London in 1562." I say a part, because it is obvious that the whole teaching of the Church of England embraces much more.¹ For instance, the three Creeds and the Book of Common Prayer, including the Catechism, are as much a part of her teaching as the Thirty-nine Articles; this is expressly recognised, with respect at least to the Creeds and Liturgy, in the Articles themselves. To think otherwise is only to follow a popular mistake, which considers the religion of the Church of England to be identical and commensurate with the Thirty-nine Articles taken alone. I should be equally lecturing on the dogmatic theology of our own Church if I were to read with you Bishop Pearson on the Apostles' Creed, Bishop Bull's Defence of the Nicene Creed, or Water-

¹ See a very apposite passage in Laud's conference with Fisher (sect. 14, n. i.): "The Jesuit offers to enclose me too much, for I did not say that the Book of Articles only was the continent of the Church of England's public doctrine. She is not so narrow: nor hath she purpose to exclude anything which she acknowledges hers: nor doth she wittingly admit any crossing of her public declarations."

land on the Creed "called Athanasian," or Nicholson on the Catechism. There are reasons, however, why I prefer at present the portion of Anglican teaching which I have named; not only the obvious reason, that many of those who hear me are intended for Oxford or Cambridge, where a knowledge of the Articles is indispensable, or even for Holy Orders, for which it is in the nature of things absolutely necessary, but also because there never was a time perhaps when these Articles were more necessary, for every one professing to receiving a liberal education, to the preservation of truth, than the present. The expression in the Preface to the Articles is quite as applicable now as when first written: "Articles for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinion, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion:" objects at all times important, but never more so than now. Men's minds, from the want of systematic training in the investigation of truth, are becoming habituated to laxity of principle, to vagueness and looseness of language and reasoning, to silly legends, to an æsthetic and epicurean religion, addressed chiefly to the senses and feelings, to an indifference with respect to truth and falsehood; and it is exactly in such errors and weaknesses of young and inexperienced minds that the enemies of our Church find their chief strength. It is my firm persuasion that our Church only requires to be known in order to be more deeply loved, more unreservedly followed as a true and living branch of Christ's one Apostolic Church, as a pure channel of the means of grace. And I believe that a simple, sound, straightforward exposition of the Articles will contribute much to placing her in the true light, to "avoiding diversities in opinions," at least amongst ourselves; for as to avoiding controversies and diversities with falsehood and corruptions, we may as well consent to give up the Faith. The Faith has, indeed, been preserved in all ages by controversy against heresies as they arose; and wherever error exists, on whichever side, whether in defect or in excess, whether as more or as less than the truth, it is not only lawful, but it is our bounden duty to drive it away. I have no wish to make you controversialists, but only "lovers of truth;" nor do I expect to make you theologians, beyond the knowledge of your true relations towards God in His Church; still less would I lead you to trust to your private judgment in a rationalistic spirit, although, in the words of the apostle, I would teach you to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good."

Thus much having been premised as to my choice of sub-

ject, I come now to the Articles themselves. As text-books I recommend Welchman's *Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, or Bickersteth's *Questions illustrating the Thirty-nine Articles*, or the copy in the *Prayer-Book*. For more advanced students and theologians I would add E. H. Browne on the *Thirty-nine Articles*, Kidd on the *Thirty-nine Articles*, and Hardwick's *History of the Articles of Religion*. These books will of course be illustrated, when necessary, by larger commentaries, and by certain works of great authority, which I shall have occasion presently to notice.

But before we actually enter upon the Articles themselves a few preliminary observations are still necessary, as they will serve to show not only the character of the compilation itself, but the principles also upon which I propose to conduct this branch of study.

My observations naturally fall under the following heads :—1. A short historical view of the *Thirty-nine Articles*. 2. The leading principles by which the compilers were guided, and therefore the *animus* of the work which they left behind them, as a guide to our interpretation. 3. The subsidiary means of explaining them, by documents more or less authoritative, and intended to be subsidiary to them more or less. 4. The method of study, and what we should have in view when we read the Articles; together with such incidental remarks as may appear likely to steady and fix our principles in approaching these studies as sound members of the Reformed-Catholic Church of England.

1. And first, I would remark that in a certain sense the whole history of the Church of England, and particularly of the English Reformation, from its first imperfect dawn under Henry VIII. to its completion under Elizabeth, is necessary to the full understanding of the *Thirty-nine Articles*. The *Thirty-nine Articles* are, indeed, the great result of that whole reaction against the sins and corruptions, both doctrinal and practical, which had invaded the Church. They are, in fact, the great official Protest of the Church of England against those corruptions; and therefore a knowledge of the state of the Church, and of the various attempts, both at home and abroad, to reform it, is of the greatest importance. This naturally cannot be attempted in any direct form consistently with the prosecution of our main design. I trust that you will one day pursue it thoroughly for yourselves. In its great characteristic outlines it is, of course, known already to most of you; and I shall, from time to time, illustrate the force and meaning of a particular Article by a reference to its historical origin and development. At pre-

sent I must content myself with reminding you that, while the Reformation on the Continent began as early as 1517, and was in many respects consolidated in 1530 by the Confession of Augsburg, closely followed by the Confessions of the other Protestant communities, the Reformation in England, on the contrary, was providentially delayed by the early resistance of Henry VIII.: that in claiming the supremacy, in 1534, that king had no thought or intention of reforming the Church from doctrinal error, as was shown by the law of the Six Articles, in 1539, in which some of the worst Romish corruptions were retained; that although, by his literary and personal character, and even by his licentiousness, by allowing an English translation of the Scriptures, by his choice, in 1534, of Cranmer as Archbishop, and further, by the Articles of Faith, approximating to Reformation, sanctioned in 1536, and subscribed by eighteen bishops, forty abbots and priors, and about fifty of the inferior clergy, he laid the foundation of the future Reformation, yet it was not till after his death, in 1547, that the Reformation, properly so called, began; nor till Mary's death, in 1558, that it assumed that definite form which it finally received in the Synod of London, in 1562. Nor was the difference in point of time the only point which distinguishes our Reformation from the continental one: the principles, motives, and objects which marked the chief promoters of each, as well as the providential circumstances which attended their progress, were such as to stamp a characteristic difference upon the two events taken as a whole. In what I said just now about providential circumstances I alluded more particularly to the wonderful concurrence of most unlikely events which contributed to retain amongst us that most important element in a Church, the apostolical succession in a line of bishops,—to which events I shall allude in Articles XXIII. and XXXVI.,—an institution which the foreign Reformers were unable to procure; which they regretted at first, then acquiesced in its absence, and which they have since resisted all attempts at reintroducing. This, therefore, and other points, remain points of distinction between the foreign Reformers and ourselves; and the result has been, that, whilst a general agreement and sympathy as against the errors of the Church of Rome exist between us, and although, in fact, many of our Articles coincide with those of foreign Protestant Confessions, in so much that we are much indebted to the clear theological statements of Melancthon and other Lutheran Reformers, and although some four Articles, particularly as they appeared in the first draft of 1552, were partly derived, *in terminis*, from the Confession of Augsburg,

and further, although it is highly desirable that we should act in union with them as far as we can, and although Protestant England has never lost sight of foreign Reformers,—yet, notwithstanding all this, we are not so far bound up with them as to be compromised by their errors or shortcomings: we are not called upon nor concerned to defend all that Luther ever said or did, though we may gratefully acknowledge his providential agency in giving the first impulse towards amendment, in detecting and denouncing the corruptions of Rome; still less are we in any way responsible, of course I mean as a Church, for the errors in doctrine and discipline of Zuingli the Reformer of Zürich, or Calvin the Reformer of Geneva.¹ This is a very important conclusion, both as it regards ourselves in reference to our own positive system, and also as it regards our controversies with Rome on the one side, or with Latitudinarianism on the other. We derive our Reformation not from Luther, nor from any mere man, but from Christ, not from any coeval opinions which may have sprung up in the sixteenth century, but from the comparison of Romanism with the supreme law of God in the Scriptures, illustrated by the doctrine and practice of the best ages of the Church.

Leaving for the present the history of the Reformation,² I proceed to give a few historical data respecting the Articles themselves. And first, I have already hinted that the first shape in which the views of the Church of England developed themselves was not exactly that in which they at present appear. The Articles before us are, in fact, a modification of the Forty-two Articles which were drawn up in the 6th year of Edward VI., and which received the sanction of the king, the bishops, and other learned men. It has been doubted whether those Forty-two Articles were the act of the regular Synod,³ but, at all events, they were tacitly accepted by the Church, having been drawn up by Archbishop Cranmer, assisted probably by Bishop Ridley, and submitted to certain bishops, and approved by them, and subsequently by the king in Council. They are, of course,

¹ I say this because the Lutheran element may be found to predominate (if any) over the Calvinistic. See Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, p. 41. "They" (the Articles) "were not borrowed from any Calvinistical or Zuinglian, but from a Lutheran Creed."

² Those who wish to study this portion of history may consult with advantage Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, Sleidan's *History of the Reformation*, Soames's *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, and Hardwick's *Church History of the Middle Age and Reformation*.

³ See Cardwell's *Synodalia*, i. 3, foll.

important to us, as being the germ of our present book, which received the full sanction of Convocation ten years afterwards; and I shall refer to these, as occasion may serve, in illustration of any expressions which may appear to require it. But whatever they were, they are no authority to us, having been virtually repealed, not only in Mary's reign, but by the substitution of the Articles now in force.¹ I now come to the immediate subject in hand,—the Articles of 1562. And first, it is a very remarkable fact, that whereas the greater part of our original ecclesiastical documents perished in the great fire of 1666, yet the acts and proceedings of this Convocation were singularly preserved, and the same remark applies to the Registers of 1640 and 1661,—both, on different accounts, epochs in our Church. Hence we have a condensed but authentic account of the proceedings.

The foregoing sketch, however slight, of the historical development of the English Reformation, as contradistinguished from the continental ones, may serve to show that the Thirty-nine Articles and the whole doctrinal teaching of the Church of England, as being the expression and embodying of that Reformation, might be expected to differ, as we find it does differ, from the teaching of the Protestant Churches abroad. Agreeing with them in protesting against Romish errors, the Church of England was providentially led and enabled to unite with this Protest a much larger share of reverence for the ancient Catholic Church, as contradistinguished from the Roman corrupt branch of it, viz., that form of the Church which had been established by the apostles, and which the Church of Rome had corrupted by comparatively modern additions and inventions. I say additions and inventions, because we are in a condition to prove the justice of the charge. This double attitude of sympathy with foreign Reformers, so far as they protest against an erroneous system, and disagreement wherever they have gone beyond that; or, to put it somewhat differently, of resistance to Rome where it is distinctively Romish, and coincidence, either express or

¹ The Articles of 1562 were preceded in 1559 by the Declaration in eleven Articles, compiled under Archbishop Parker's eye, and with the sanction of the other prelates, and enjoined to be professed by the clergy on admission, and twice every year. They were—1. On the Holy Trinity; 2. On the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture; 3. On the Three Creeds; 4. On the Church; 5. On the Royal Supremacy; 6. Denying the Papal Monarchy; 7. On the Authority, Catholicity, and Apostolicity of the Prayer-Book; 8. Against Exorcism, Oil, etc., in Baptism; 9. Against Private Masses and the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass; 10. Against Denial of the Cup; 11. Against Images, etc. See Hardwick's *History of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 115.

implied, with the Church of Rome, so far as it is Catholic, —this double relation, which may be said to have resulted naturally from the history of the purification of religion in this country, is the key to the complex system of teaching which is made up of the study of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, and other formularies more or less authoritative in our Church. This important result, the substance of which I purposely repeat, will be still further illustrated by the proof which I shall bring presently, that the English Reformers themselves distinctly contemplated this result to their labours.

Bearing in mind, then, the fact that the edition of the Articles before us, that of 5 Elizabeth, 1562, were a modification of the Forty-two Articles passed in Edward VI.'s reign about ten years before, we may proceed to say a few words respecting the persons who had the chief management, in this form, of our Reformation. Of course the Articles themselves must take some part of their colouring from the character of those who compiled them. This is a part of their history.

And first, it is necessary to speak of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, the first Protestant Archbishop of that province—Cranmer, you will remember, did not commence as a Protestant, though he ended by becoming one. He was the person who presided in the Synod of 1562, in which the Articles received their canonical authority. Independently of this fact, however, he is a person whose history is deeply interesting to every English Churchman. About forty years after his accession to the Primacy, a wicked and absurd rumour was spread abroad, to the effect that his consecration as Archbishop, with that of other bishops consecrated at the same time, had been not only invalid and informal, but attended with such circumstances as, if truly alleged, would have made it a blasphemous mockery. This calumny has been generally called the "Nag's Head Consecration." The story was never heard of till after Elizabeth's death; it was then confuted by causing the calumniators to inspect the original registers, and has since been abandoned by respectable Roman Catholics. It was asserted that the consecration took place at the Nag's Head tavern in Cheapside, in a sort of festive meeting, and rather by way of jest than earnest, at the hands of a single bishop (Scory), who placed, as the calumny pretends, a Bible on the head of the candidates as they knelt before him, and said, "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God sincerely."¹ Now a

¹ The only colourable pretext for this story is what Collier states, that

story like this, even if we had no direct counter evidence to rebut it, would be of itself entitled to little weight, considering that it was never heard of till forty years after the alleged transaction, and that not one of the many Romish controversialists who were eagerly engaged in the attempt to detect some flaw in the Church of England, so much as alludes to such a rumour, even in those parts of their writings which are engaged in depreciating or in denying the validity of our ordinations—such men as Stapleton or Harding, Alan, Reynolds, Parsons, Sanders, Bonner (though, according to the story, it was Bonner's own secretary, Neale, sent by him to be a spy on the occasion, who was witness to those uncanonical proceedings). But the counter evidence against the calumny is irresistible. It has been proved beyond all question, from unimpeachable documents,¹ official and semi-official, that Archbishop Parker was consecrated, not by one bishop, but by four, not at the "Nag's Head," but at the chapel at Lambeth, not by an irregular rite, but by the duly appointed ordinal of the Church of England, December 17, 1559. The four bishops were William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, previously Bishop of Bath and Wells; John Scory, Bishop of Hereford, previously Bishop of Chichester; John Hodgskyns, Bishop of Bedford; and Miles Coverdale, late Bishop of Exeter. The number was in accordance with the old canonical rule of the Church, to the effect that at least three bishops should take part in the consecration of a bishop.² The result

some of the officials were, after the consecration, entertained at the "Nag's Head." If further evidence of the consecration were required, it is furnished by entries in the diary of Henry Machyn, a London tradesman, who died about 1563, about forty years before the story of the consecration is alleged to have been first invented. In his diary (which has been published by the Camden Society, from the ms. in the Cottonian collection, Vitellius F, 5), the following passages occur :—

"The xvij day of Desember was the nuw byshope of . . . doctur Parker, made ther at Lambeth;" and, three days later,

"The xx day of Desember a-for non, was Sant Thomas coyn, my lord of Canturbere whent to Bow Chyrche and ther wher v nuw byshopes mad."

¹ See particularly Archbishop Bramhall's Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops Guarded, and Perceval's Apology for the Apostolical Succession, p. 114, where he gives a copy of the original entry in the Lambeth Register, followed by a copy of a paper in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, substantially, if not literally, agreeing: both containing circumstantial statements respecting the arrangements of Lambeth Chapel, the four consecrating bishops, the dress of each of the bishops, the laymen present, the sermon and the text, the ceremonies in and after consecration, etc.

² The full consequence of that rule, as securing, almost beyond the possibility of failure, the continuity of succession of duly consecrated

of all this is that Archbishop Parker was as regularly and canonically consecrated as any archbishop who was ever in the Christian Church; and that the bishops whom he in like manner consecrated, and who, as well as two of his consecrators (Barlow and Scory), sat with him in this Synod, were also true and lawful bishops of the Church, which can be shown not to be true of the Popish bishops, including Cardinal Pole, who were consecrated in Mary's reign,¹ and consequently that this Synod, being convened by the Queen, and composed of lawful bishops and clergy, is a true canonical Synod, and its Articles, attested by the signature of these bishops, are the authoritative act of the genuine English branch of the Apostolic Church—which is the point we proposed to prove. It is my earnest desire that you bear these facts in mind throughout these Lectures on the Thirty-nine Articles. They are not the acts only of certain learned and pious men, who agreed to compile them, but they are the deliberate official act of a Provincial Council, lawfully convened and constituted.

But, though it is in their collective capacity that the bishops and clergy who sat in this famous Synod gave effect to those Articles, yet their individual character is a matter of interest and importance. To go into their characters in detail, or to say more of them than that they were, most of them, eminent men—eminent for their piety, their learning, and their sufferings in behalf of religion,—and that we have evidence that Bishop Grindal of London, Horn of Winchester, and Cox of Ely, with the Archbishop, made the first draft, would take us too far from our present object.² I shall content myself with a few words on one of the most remarkable divines whom the Church of England, rich as

bishops, will be found set forth at length in a note to my Bampton Lectures, p. 368.

¹ See the tables in Perceval's *Doctrine of the Apostolic Succession*, pp. 174, 216, 217.

² The complete list of the bishops present at the Synod, as given by Hardwick, is as follows:—

Edmund Grindal, of London.
Robert Horn, of Winchester.
William Barlow, of Chichester.
John Scory, of Hereford.
Richard Cox, of Ely.
Edwin Sandys, of Worcester.
Roland Merick, of Bangor.
Nicholas Bolingham, of Lincoln.
John Jewel, of Sarum.
Richard Davis, of St. David's.

Edmund Guest, of Rochester.
Gilbert Berkeley, of Bath and Wells.
Thomas Bentham, of Coventry and Lichfield.
William Alley, of Exeter.
John Parkhurst, of Norwich.
Edmund Scambler, of Peterborough.
Thomas Davies, of St. Asaph.
Richard Cheney, of Gloucester.

she is in sound and learned divines, has produced—John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury. Hooker, himself one of the greatest lights of the Church, has recorded his opinion that Jewel was “the worthiest divine that Christendom hath had for the space of some hundreds of years.”¹ That this prelate was engaged, as well as the four named above, in the Articles of 1562, is proved by the high consideration which he already enjoyed; and at all events, the share which, as we shall see, he had in the last revision of the Articles, in 1571, makes his name important in respect of their compilation in 1562.

The difference, looked at historically as a fact, without reference to theological grounds, between the Articles of 1552 and those of 1562, is not only in their number (I mean, it was not simply by taking off three superfluous Articles that the change was effected), but also in the distribution of parts and in the matter introduced or omitted. Wherever these changes were important I shall notice them hereafter. I will now only say that six in all, including the last four, were omitted; one was incorporated into the 7th of the revised Articles (*i.e.* the 19th); and four entirely new ones, what we now call the 5th, 12th, 29th, and 30th (besides parts in others) were inserted. This may suffice for an historical account of the Articles of 1562, when I have added, that, according to the express testimony of Sir Edward Coke, they were ratified by the Queen, under the Great Seal, about a year afterwards. They were not numbered before their final revision in 1571, and in that year they were embodied in the Act of Parliament, not (as may be proved) the revised edition of 1571, but the very book in print of 1562.

And this brings me to the last and definitive modification, or rather outward shape, which our present Articles received. The canonical authority of the Articles (at least of the Latin edition of them), which, of course, is the most important question for the Church, is decided, as I have said, more than once from the Synod of 1562 (o. s., Jan.), and by the law of the land they had also civil sanction from the date of their ratification by the Queen under the Great Seal of England.² Yet after the lapse of eight or nine years it was found that less progress than might have been expected had been made by their means in obtaining “uniformity of doctrine and discipline.” It was thought, therefore, that a new subscrip-

¹ Hooker, vol. i. 313 (Keble's edition).

² See Cardwell's *Synodalia*, i. 38.

tion by the Bishops was expedient,¹ and that the sanction of an Act of Parliament for subscription to the Articles, though, as we have seen, unnecessary to their canonical and civil obligation, would give greater currency and, in a worldly sense, stability to the principles of the English Reformation. It is observable that the whole of these parliamentary proceedings were under the control of the Bishops, so much so that on the 4th of May an order was made by them in Convocation, that John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, should be intrusted with the duty of revising the Book of Articles for the press. Accordingly, early in April 1571, a Bill, with the Queen's consent, was sent up from the Commons to the Lords, 13 Eliz. cap. 12, entitled "A Bill for the Ministers of the Church to be of Sound Religion"—not, be it observed, a Bill to determine the Articles, but merely to enforce subscription to them, or some of them, on the part of the clergy.²

And thus, under the sanction, and at the express desire of the bishops, and by the official act of one of the episcopal body as responsible editor, an act of the Legislature was framed, so as to give full effect to the wishes of the Church, recognising and embodying the Canonical Book of the Thirty-nine Articles, in the edition of 1562. These facts are of great importance in reference to the character of our branch of the Church. This was no lay movement—it was no act of Parliament usurping the powers of the Church—it was essentially a Church movement and a Church act, of clergy and laity combined. The English Legislature no more interfered with the spiritual functions of the Church, than Justinian, the Legislature of Rome, did in issuing ecclesiastical constitutions for carrying out the intentions of the Church; nor any more than Constantine did, when, as supreme lawgiver, he gave effect to the Canons of the Council of Nice, which he had summoned, and in which he sat; nor any more than the civil authorities of England had done for the Church of Rome during her usurpation. When, therefore, the Church of England is, by way of disparagement, called "an Act-of-Parliament Church," or our holy religion a Parliamentary religion, we shall know how utterly groundless this reproach is.³ We trace our descent,

¹ An attempt had been made before this (in 1566). A "Bill with the little book printed in 1552" passed the Commons, was read a first time by the Lords, and stopped by the Queen. See Dr. Lamb's *Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 24.

² Cardwell's *Synodalia*, i. 58, note.

³ We might with equal justice call the Catholic Church of the sixth century an Emperor's Church, or the Romish form of the Church in the century previous to the Reformation a Parliamentary Church.

not from any civil power, but from the one Apostolic Church; and the distinctive characteristics which the antagonist corruptions of Rome forced upon us by way of Protest, were sanctioned, in a spiritual sense, by the Synod lawfully called in 1562; and, as far as any alteration did take place, by the Episcopal College in 1571. The Church and the State in England are united, in my opinion, to the great advantage of both; and so were the Church and the State under Constantine; but in both cases the spiritual functions were by no means confounded with the civil.

The alterations, however, which took place in 1571 under the editorship of Bishop Jewel, were of no great moment, consisting principally of verbal changes tending to give greater precision and uniformity to the whole.¹ Whenever they appear important, they shall be noticed hereafter. The Articles were now numbered—the total number, the Ratification included, being forty.²

Once more to recapitulate the important dates. The first sketch of the Articles was drawn in 1552 (Edward VI. and Archbishop Cranmer). After being suspended in Mary's reign, they were renewed and remodelled in 1562, under the direction of Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker, and were finally revised by Bishop Jewel, again under Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker, in 1571. When we speak of the Thirty-nine Articles, then, we mean a book which has undergone these historical developments. No Churchman ought to be ignorant of this much, at least—the knowledge will help us in the elucidation of the subject in these Lectures; and for those who are intended for the Universities, and still more for Holy Orders, it will help to the solution and clear understanding of many questions, to which, in a mixed audience like this, it is unnecessary for me to do more than allude.

2. We come, secondly, according to the plan laid down, to speak of the leading principles by which the Reformers were guided, and, therefore, of the *animus* of the work which they left behind them, as a guide to our interpretation. And at the outset let it be granted, in reference to the first draft, in 1552, that the suggestions of foreign Reformers were not without weight in the mind of Cranmer: and in reference to the second and the final revisions, that some of the compilers had been more or less affected in that direction by their residence at Frankfort or Zürich during Mary's perse-

¹ Dr. Lamb, p. 30.

² The current name of Thirty-nine Articles was adopted at a later period, as, for example, they are so called in the last Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. II.

cutions. Yet, after allowing due weight to this consideration, still the characteristic differences between the foreign Reformation and our own, which I pointed out in a former part of these Lectures, are indisputable facts; and it can be proved that no one vital doctrine or practice was sacrificed to the desire of pleasing the foreign Reformers. I do not mean to assert, of course, that the formularies of the Church of England are absolutely perfect; that there is no deficiency or redundancy in them whatever, and nothing which might not possibly and advantageously be amended by competent authority, and at a fitting time. Our Church herself makes no pretensions to any such absolute perfection or infallibility. But this I will say,—remembering that the purification of our Church, and the bringing it back to its ancient model, was intrusted to fallible men, acting under great difficulties, from the long-continued abuses of a corrupt Church, the moderation, caution, and primitive piety displayed by our Reformers furnish a proof, not only of God's providential care of our Church, but (be it spoken reverently) that the Holy Spirit directed their labours. Taking all our formularies as one whole, they are un-Romanized, but they are not un-Catholicised; their spirit and character is Reformed-Catholic. It was in this spirit that the avowed principles of the restorers of our Church were conceived, and the same principle has animated all the great Anglican divines ever since. The full proof of this I of course cannot offer now. But I will bring forward some specimens of the language very early employed. Archbishop Cranmer says, "I protest that it was never in my mind to write, speak, or understand anything contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only which I had learned of the sacred Scriptures, and of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church. And if anything hath peradventure chanced otherwise than I thought, I may err; but heretic I cannot be; forasmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred Word of God and of the Holy Church. And I protest and openly confess, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the Sacrament and of other my doctrines, whatsoever it be, not only I mean to judge those things as the Catholic Church and the most holy Fathers of old, with one accord, have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and

singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the Sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation.”¹

Again, Bishop Ridley, who was martyred in 1555: “When I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the See of Rome, I repair to the usage of the Primitive Church.” I could quote the express words of eight or nine more Reformers of that date, all to the same effect. And thus the principle is clear which guided the framers of the first draft in 1552. And precisely the same principle of reference to Scripture as supreme, and to the Primitive Church as subsidiary, is expressly recognised by law and by the Queen herself: by the law of 1 Elizabeth,² in which it is declared that those opinions only should be deemed heretical which have been pronounced such by the express declaration of Scripture, or by some one of the first four Councils, or by any subsequent Council, founding its decision on clear scriptural authority. Again, Queen Elizabeth says, “There is no new faith propagated in England, no religion set up but that which was commanded by our Saviour, practised by the Primitive Church, and unanimously approved by the Fathers of the best antiquity.”³ Again, the Canons of 1571 (subscribed by all the bishops of the province of Canterbury, either personally or by proxy, but not accepted by the Lower House of Convocation, nor ratified by the Queen, although there is ground for thinking that she approved of them,—“reckoning,” as Strype says, “that the bishops’ power, seeing that their authority derived from her, was sufficient,”) contain these words, “But chiefly they” (the preachers) “shall take heed that they teach nothing in their sermons which they would have the people religiously to observe and believe but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and that which the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have gathered out of that same doctrine.”⁴ Lastly, Bishop Jewel says, that “Verily we, for our parts, as we have said, have done nothing in altering religion, upon either rashness or arrogancy; nor nothing, but with good leisure and great consideration. Neither had we ever intended to do it, except both the manifest and most assured will of God, opened to us in His

¹ Cranmer’s Appeal at his degradation; Works, vol. iv. pp. 126, 127.

² See 1 Eliz. 1, §§ 18, 36. The Act empowers the Queen to constitute an Ecclesiastical Commission for the repression of schism and unbelief, under the limitations given above.

³ Collier, Eccl. Hist. vi. 263, 264.

⁴ Cardwell’s Synodalia, i. 126.

Holy Scriptures, and the regard of our own salvation, had constrained us thereunto: for though we have departed from that Church which these men call Catholic, and by that means get us envy among them that want skill to judge, yet is this enough for us, and it ought to be enough for every wise and good man, and one that maketh account of everlasting life, that we have gone from that Church which hath power to err; which Christ, who cannot err, told so long before it should err; and which we ourselves did evidently see with our eyes to have gone from the old holy Fathers, from the Apostles, and from Christ Himself, and from the primitive and Catholic Church of God: and we are come as near as we possibly could to the Church of the Apostles, and of the old Catholic Bishops and Fathers; which Church, we know, was sound and perfect, and, as Tertullian termeth it, a pure virgin, spotted as then with no idolatry, nor with any foul or shameful fault; and have directed, according to their customs and ordinances, not only our doctrine, but also the Sacraments and the form of Common Prayer.”¹

It appears, then, on the whole, that in each of the three several epochs, 1552, 1562, and 1571, the same principles of interpretation were adopted. Let me add, that the same principle has been recognised by our greatest divines in succession, viz., that of appealing to Scripture as the paramount authority, and yet not neglecting the witness of the early Church. Nothing, according to this, can be required to be believed as an article of faith which cannot be proved out of Scripture; but the first interpreters, those who had conversed with our Lord, or with His apostles, or with the first generation, called generally the Apostolic men, must be a very great help to understanding what is in Scripture: not that their witness is to supersede the labours of the Biblical student, and the various instruments of reason, history, grammar, comparison of Holy Scripture with itself, in short, criticism in general, by which he ascertains the sense of Scripture: it is not to supersede, but to assist them. When a doctrine is plainly written in Holy Writ there is no doubt of our obligation to receive it unreservedly; and in proportion as any less plain truth is deducible by sound exposition there is a corresponding obligation. But when a truth is plain in Scripture it does not become less plain by the fact that it was held on the same scriptural grounds universally, everywhere and at all times; and where a truth in Holy Scripture is obscure, the careful application of the

¹ Jewel, *Def. of Apol.*, Part vi. c. xvi. div. i.

same test may, and often does, remove the obscurity. In the one case we arrive at the highest moral certainty, in the other at a sufficient degree of evidence. To give an instance: The doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is plainly revealed in Holy Scripture. We are quite justified, therefore, in believing it as soon as it is pointed out; but it is surely still more satisfactory to know that the great body of the ancient Church believed the same doctrine, on the same scriptural ground,—that there never was a time when this high scriptural truth was not regarded as essential to the Catholic Church. Or, to take a negative instance, Romanism; our primary duty is to discover whether it is to be found in the Scriptures, or whether we find Scripture to be against those errors, and this is sufficient; but then it is surely an increase of satisfaction if we find that the same corruptions were unknown or unheard of, or else condemned, in the early Church. It is enough to know that Romanism is unscriptural; but there is a double ground of assurance in finding it, as we do, unscriptural and uncatholic too. If early antiquity has sanctioned unscriptural errors, then, of course, antiquity yields to Scripture, the ancient error gives place to the still more ancient truth. But when Scripture and antiquity speak one language, then all doubt is at an end—of course I am speaking of those who believe the Bible to be the inspired Word of God. So that antiquity is not an antagonist nor a co-ordinate authority to Scripture; but it is subordinate and confirmatory only; a mere witness, which may or may not bear evidence to a fact, whereas Scripture is the supreme authority and law.

This was the principle, then, which guided our Reformers in framing these Articles,—indeed, in framing or adopting all our formularies; and such is the only principle on which we should attempt to interpret, or understand, or prove them. My proofs of each Article shall be drawn from Scripture; but I shall always rejoice to place before you any evidence, from whatever source, corroborative of the scriptural conclusion.

3. Before we proceed, however, to discuss the method which it is expedient to observe in these lectures, there are other elements of illustration to which I must briefly allude,—I mean the subsidiary means of explaining the Articles by documents within our own Church, more or less authoritative, and intended to be subsidiary more or less. This was the third point to which I stated it to be my wish to call your attention in this Introduction.

I stated at the outset that the Articles are only a part of the teaching of the Church of England; it is even conceivable that it might become a superfluous and needless part. The

Articles originated, as we have seen, in the necessity for protesting against Romish errors and corruptions, as well as Romish tyranny. So long, then, as those corruptions in doctrine and practice remain a part of the teaching and system of the Church of Rome, and so long as she makes pretensions to bring us under her dominion, and to entangle us again in her web of error, so long, and no longer, the Thirty-nine Articles continue necessary. If it were possible, which I fear it is not, for she has two mottoes, “*semper eadem*,” and “*vestigia nulla retrorsum*,” that the Church of Rome would reform herself; if she would expunge the heresies which she has sanctioned; if, amongst other errors, the totally groundless and uncatholic claim of the Pope’s supremacy were withdrawn; if a free Council of all Christendom could be legitimately called, and a real reformation of faith and life could be brought about, then the question might arise whether the Thirty-nine Articles would not become in great measure unnecessary, and we might content ourselves with that part of the teaching of our Church, which I am about to specify, contained in her other public formularies, by which she teaches positive truth, without any controversy, except against the enemies of our common Christianity. Unhappily the prospect of any such repentance and amendment on the part of the Church of Rome seems as far distant as ever; the decrees, many of them most erroneous and unscriptural, which were passed in the mock Council of Trent, added to some others, which are as old as the Council of Lateran in 1213, have given a permanence to errors which, though for some ages previously deeply rooted in practice, were not theoretically maintained by that Church as such; they have, as it were, stereotyped what had previously been floating error; and the Romish practice is also as far from scriptural and catholic purity as ever. In doctrine they are sinking lower and lower; witness the recent movement in advance, of declaring canonically the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹ I only state a possibility of a reformation, that you may be made aware of the real function which characterizes mainly the Thirty-nine Articles.

¹ Mr. Meyrick (*Practical Working of the Church in Spain*, p. 48) quotes a doxology which he heard at the end of a sermon at Malaga, as follows: “Glory be to the Father, glory be to the Son, glory be to the Holy Ghost, glory be to the Most Sacred Virgin;” and in another sermon at Seville she was said, “from her free will and charity for the human race, to have been willing to offer up her Son,” and to have suffered, being “without spot or stain, purely through charity, that she might be the redeemer of the human race.”—*Ibid.* p. 229.

At present, however, we must consider the Articles and the other formularies of our Church as supplemental to and explanatory of each other, each forming an indispensable constituent part of the whole teaching. I now proceed to remind you what those other formularies are. Many of you will have anticipated me in what I am about to say; for these formularies are obvious, and accessible to all.

a. And first in order of importance are the three Creeds of the Church; they are expressly recognised in Article VIII. as creeds which "ought to be thoroughly received and believed," and that upon the only Christian principle,—“because they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture.” It is not, as we shall see, that they have any intrinsic authority of themselves independent of Scripture, though they are invaluable as witnesses of early scriptural belief; but they are thoroughly received because they are the faithful mirrors of the truths of the Bible. Their use as an abstract of scriptural truth has been always recognised in the Church; and the Church of England in this, as in other matters, proves her catholic character by the pre-eminence which she gives them in her services. So great has been always the value attached to the Creeds, that the designation “Rule of Faith,” which is now often extended in a different sense to the Bible, was in early ages appropriated to these Creeds. In fact, the best proper Latin translation of the word “Creed,” is “Regula Fidei.” The metaphor is taken from the carpenter’s rule, *i.e.* a known measure of definite value by which truth might be tried, not as the ultimate test of truth, which has always been Scripture, but as a convenient measure, always at hand, and more easily handled by ordinary men than a volume can be, so extensive and complicated as the Bible. In a similar way the Greek word *Κανὼν* is applied to a separate decree of a Council. Now I am not finding fault with the more modern application of the term “Rule of Faith” to the Holy Scriptures; on the contrary, it is a very convenient term, provided we define it. The Scripture is a Rule of Faith, and the Creed is a Rule of Faith, but in different senses. We may compare the Scripture to some great and universal standard of value, such as a standard foot or a standard weight, which is deposited somewhere (in the Tower, for instance, or at the Bank), as the measure with which all the measures in common use may at any proper time be compared, so as to test their accuracy.¹ The Creeds, on the

¹ The analogy fails, of course, with respect to the paucity of the standards and their removal from ordinary use, inasmuch as the Scriptures must be, for other than doctrinal purposes, in the hands of all.

other hand, are those measures which are in the hands of every one, in common use, rightly presumed to be accurate, and acted upon as such in common life, but liable at any time to be tested on the part of any one who doubts their accuracy, by comparing them with the Common Standard. The value of this distinction you will find very great in future. Once more, to revert to the same point of faith as before in illustration. The doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is in the Scriptures—but it is not every one who has leisure, or ability, or learning to go to that standard, at least in all its completeness in detail; but in the Creeds any one finds the doctrine stated in compendious terms—the Creed is to him the rule, or canon, or standard, by which he may in a very short time ascertain the truth which others have tested and are continually testing for him, by comparing this rule with the Standard Rule of all.

It would be out of place at present to enter into the proof of these Creeds, or even to give you an outline of their external history. This may be deferred till we come to Art. VIII. I merely mention them here as amongst the parts which go to make up our Church's teaching as a whole.

β. The Church Catechism, which in the Book of Edward VI. is annexed to the Order of Confirmation. This contains not only what was enjoined in the reign of Edward VI., but also the part which was added by Bishop Overal in the reign of James I.—that part which is occupied about the two Holy Sacraments; in fact, all that is subsequent to the explanation of the Lord's Prayer. I need hardly remind you how much a knowledge of the Catechism must help to a knowledge of the Articles; how much, in fact, of the Church's teaching—that is, of Christian knowledge, a knowledge of his relations to God and man, and of the duties thence resulting (which is the true end of religious teaching after all),—is by the Church Catechism brought within the reach of every child.

γ. We now come to the Book of Common Prayer, etc., considered as separable from the portions of Scripture embodied in it, either as Psalms, Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels, or the like, and separable also from the Creeds and Catechism, the former as embodied in the same service, the latter as contained in the same volume, and anciently a part, as it were, of the Confirmation Service. Yet still they may be separated in idea. I am now speaking of the Devotions of the Church of England, and I wish to call your attention to the doctrinal use of these devotional formularies. Of course the main use of devotional forms is the worship of

Almighty God ; rather implying and presupposing a right faith than directly intended to convey religious instruction. I am far from wishing to divert from its main office the Book of Common Prayer, or to teach you to be looking for theological instruction at times when it is your sole business to join devoutly in the prayers. But still, what I would observe is this. You cannot use those prayers without collaterally imbibing, or rather breathing forth, more and more of truth—truth not the less real because it is practical in an undesigned way, and because it is not placed before you in a theoretical form ; and besides, at times when there is no immediate call to Divine Worship, it is surely allowable, indeed right, to study the Book of Common Prayer, to penetrate its spirit, and to observe its details—and so, over and above the main primary use, that of devotion, you may increase your knowledge, strengthen your faith, and learn to pray with the understanding also. I shall take occasion from time to time to show you how the Common Prayer-Book may be used to illustrate the Articles. In the meantime, as the subject is an extremely important one, I must exemplify my meaning by one or two specimens of the indirect teaching which may be derived from this source.

Take every prayer, almost without exception. How strongly does it testify to the sole mediation and intercession of Christ ! How uniform and precise the witness *passim* to the doctrines of the Trinity in Unity ! The Collects alone, if digested, would form a most admirable and complete body of divinity.¹ Or take the services for Baptism and the Lord's Supper : how full of pure, catholic, primitive doctrine they both are ! Or take the Litany. Where, even

¹ This may be exemplified from the parenthetical structure almost universally to be observed in the Collects and other prayers, whereby there is introduced in a parenthesis, as the ground of the particular petition, some one or more vital doctrines, or the truth of some particular fact, say in our Lord's life. Grammatically, I need hardly say, such parentheses are unnecessary. A sense is equally applicable, whether they are absent or present, but not the deep, religious, Christian, and evangelical sense. In the first case a heathen or a Jew might often use them ; in the second, none but a Christian believer. For instance, the Collect for the 1st Sunday in Advent thus contains the doctrine of our Lord's first coming in humility, then in glory : that for the 2d Sunday the Divine origin of Holy Scripture. Other marked instances are to be found in the Collects for Christmas Day, Innocents' Day, the Epiphany, the 6th Sunday after the Epiphany, the 1st in Lent, Good Friday, Easter Day, etc. The doctrine is so interwoven with each prayer, that if these parentheses are removed, either no sense results, or a purely heathen sense. Embody the parentheses under heads, apart from their context, and you obtain a Creed.

in the Creeds, can you have a more explicit statement of the doctrine of the Trinity than you have in the first four petitions? Or where a more complete summary of all the articles of our faith than in the petitions which ground all our hopes of mercy upon the circumstances of the Atonement in detail?¹ Or still further, consider the *Te Deum*. It is the sublimest hymn that was ever composed by uninspired man; but it is not only an hymn—it is a creed—an hymn-creed—witnessing to the doctrine of the Trinity; of the various offices proper to each of the three blessed Persons in the One Godhead; of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ; of his Eternal Sonship; of his Redemption and Atonement, his Resurrection, Ascension, and sitting in glory at the right hand of God; of his office as Judge, as the Saviour, Governor, and Lifter-up of his people; and, finally, of the efficacy of faith, and of the proportion between trust in God's mercy and the mercy actually to be obtained.

I must content myself with a very short history of the Common Prayer-Book. The first germ is traceable in 1536,² when it contained nothing more than the Paternoster, the Creeds, and the Decalogue, added to the Bible, or portions of the Bible. In 1545 appeared the King's Prymer, containing, besides the above, the Morning and Evening Prayers, nearly as at present. In 1548³ the Communion Office was added, and services for Burial, Baptism, etc., the Act of Parliament seconding Convocation speaking of it thus, "which by the aid of the Holy Ghost is of them concluded." In the fifth year of Edward VI. appeared the King's second Book, with slight alterations; there was a Review in 1569, which produced few changes; an improvement in 1 James I. by the addition to the Catechism. In Charles I.'s time there was little done. In 1662, after the Savoy Conference, some improvements were introduced.⁴

¹ We may observe, likewise, that all these are addressed, by way of adjuration as it were, to our Lord, as God: and so qualify the preceding petitions as addressed likewise to Him; and afford collateral testimony to the belief of our Church in His Divinity, inseparably united to His Humanity, in which and by which He suffered for us.

² As the Prymer, the first known MS. of which belongs to the latter part of the fourteenth century.

³ 2 and 3 Edward VI., 1548-9.

⁴ In the reign of William and Mary in 1689, there was a commission issued to ten bishops and twenty divines to revise the Liturgy in such a manner as to include if possible the Protestant dissenters. The attempt failed, but the proposed amendments may be seen in Proctor's History of the Book of Common Prayer, appendix to Part I. 1-5.

Thus far, then, with respect to the doctrinal use of the devotions of the Church of England.

δ. Next in order, though inferior in authority, the Homilies may be considered as one means of illustrating the teaching of our Church; the two Books of Homilies, composed and published at different times: the first Book in 1547, by Cranmer; the second in 1560, by Jewel. They were composed with a view to provide instruction for the people at that time;¹ to remedy the scarcity of preachers, arising from the lamentable ignorance and paucity of the clergy when the Reformation began. I say inferior in authority to the formularies just mentioned, as may be shown by the fact that whilst subscription to the Articles and full consent to the Liturgy is indispensable to the clergy, the two Books of Homilies were never imposed by our Church upon her respective members as specific rules of faith. Yet they are of some authority, and of considerable value. They are recognised, as we may see in Art. xxxv., in which Book 2 is commended "as containing a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times"—*i.e.* the time when the Articles were framed; and of course in subscribing the Articles every clergyman admits the truth of this assertion. It is obvious also, that, even if they had no authority, they would be of great value, as illustrating the scope and meaning of many of the Articles, inasmuch as they were written or set forth by the very men who compiled or revised the Thirty-nine Articles—and, in fact, the doctrine which they teach is essentially sound and scriptural.

ε. Two other works require notice, as auxiliary to the understanding of the Articles, and not devoid of some authority, viz.: 1. Jewel's Apology; 2. Nowell's Catechism. The first is distinguished for sound doctrine, lucid arrangement, and elegant Latin; it has a semi-official character, as sanctioned in 1562. It was ordered, in English, by Episcopal authority to be chained in churches, together with the Defence. The same respect was paid to Nowell's Catechism,² which I name only to make the account complete.

The accessories, then, to the ascertaining the doctrine of the Church of England are the Creeds, the Catechism, the Book of Common Prayer, the Homilies, and the two books just named.

4. We are now in a condition to speak very shortly of the method of study to be followed in this course. It is my intention, as it is my duty, to rely upon Scripture for all the

¹ See Article xxxv.

² Edited by Jacobson, 1844.

proofs, the sense and application of Scripture being determined partly by comparing Scripture, of course in the original versions, with itself, partly by ascertaining how the primitive interpreters applied it. In illustration of our tenets, I shall glance occasionally at the foreign symbolical books, the Decrees of Trent, etc. etc. I shall make use also of the other formularies of our Church, not only in illustration, but in confirmation of the Articles, and to supply also what may have been, owing to the peculiar design, omitted, or stated incompletely. Above all, whatever we do, we must be careful, in the words of the Declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, not "to draw any Article aside any way, but to submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof; and not to put our own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but to take it in the literal grammatical sense." The moral disposition required for this study is an humble, teachable, honest heart, together with a sincere desire for Christian truth as such, and for as much peace as is consistent with that truth.

As to the formal method of study, I have only to say that after comparing the three editions, I shall first explain the meaning of the terms and the scope of each Article, adding, when necessary, an historical account of the occasion which gave rise to it. I shall then proceed to give the proof and the illustrations—all, however, succinctly—not all I could say, but what appears sufficient.

The Articles are usually divided into four classes: (1.) from I. to v. inclusive, treating of the Divine Nature; (2.) VI. VII. VIII., of the Rule of Faith; (3.) IX. to XVIII. inclusive, of Christians as individuals, if and so far as they can be so considered; (4.) XIX. to XXXIX. inclusive, of Christians considered as a community, and of the subjects relating to the Church, its ministry, its worship, its sacraments, its ceremonies, its instruction, and its relations to the State. This division may not be strictly logical, but it is sufficiently accurate as a general classification.

ART. I.-V.—*Of the Divine Nature.*

And first, in reference to the order of treating these subjects, it may be asked, Why is it necessary to begin with an account of the principles of our Church with regard to the Divine Nature? We have already, as we have seen, a compendium of Christian faith in the three Creeds, a compendium entirely and solemnly accepted and recognised by the Church of England; and the Creeds, as a whole, contain even more full definitions of what we have to believe of the Divine Nature than these five Articles themselves; and these five Articles contain nothing new, as God forbid they should do. Why then should not our Reformers have contented themselves with asserting their adhesion to the Creeds? The explanation must be sought in the circumstances of those times. It is not enough to say that many of the foreign Protestant Articles, commonly called their Symbolical Books, have done the same, *i.e.* have also prefaced the Reformed tenets with certain propositions respecting the Divine Nature. We have already seen that our Reformers did not blindly follow the Continental ones; it was for some good reason, such as was independent of their example. The reason must be sought in the fact, that it was the policy of the Church of Rome, at least of those who wrote in her defence, to calumniate the Reformers, to blacken their characters, and to misrepresent their opinions. And they had some pretext for this course, furnished by the wicked excesses and blasphemous doctrines into which some of the foreign Reformers, or rather ultra-Reformers, fell; particularly the Anabaptists of Munster, of whom more hereafter.¹ No sooner had the intolerable tyranny of Rome been shaken off than many misguided men rushed into the opposite extreme of utter rationalism in religion, and the most avowed and abominable licentiousness in morals. There had been already, particularly on the Continent, a great multiplication of sects, the offspring and the parents in turn of schism and heresy, the same sort of impious sects who in this country gained the ascendancy during the great Rebellion, more resembling in their principles what were afterwards called Independents, Quakers, Fifth-Monarchy Men:—sects, there is good reason for thinking, fomented by Romish agents for the purpose of throwing dis-

¹ See Sleidan's History of the Reformation, B. x. p. 190, etc.

credit on the Reformation. Indeed, I believe it to be a fact that many Jesuits took the shape of the most impious sectarians, and they partially succeeded in disgracing the genuine Reformers. The real genuine Reformers, then, both here and abroad, found it necessary to disconnect themselves at the outset from the wicked heresies which were springing up around them in quarters beyond their control. And thus while they protested against them they disarmed the Papists of this weapon of calumny; for by showing on the very frontispiece of their Articles of Faith, or Symbolical Books, their orthodoxy in the main point of Christian religion, the Trinity in Unity, they put it out of every man's power to accuse them justly of heresy. This account of the origin of the first five Articles I derive, *inter alia*, from the opening of Jewel's Apology, the first twenty pages of which are devoted to an account of the reasons which led to that semi-official declaration of the principles of the Church of England, and he expressly names the calumnies of the Papists as his main reason, and then proceeds to lay down the faith respecting the Holy Trinity in terms equivalent to those used in the Articles. The first five Articles, then, are a protest against ultra-Reformers and heretics, in order to show that in protesting on the other side against Romish corruptions, nothing was further from their thoughts than to abandon or weaken the Catholic faith. And it is surely a great consolation to reflect that for five Articles at least we can walk at peace and in union with our Roman Catholic brethren, and indulge the hope that as far as we have respectively held to the essentials of Christianity we are virtually united in this world, and that any mistakes on either side will be hereafter pardoned for the sake of our common Saviour, in whom, according to the grace given us, we have respectively put our trust.

One more remark. I said that many of the foreign Symbolical Books begin as ours do with the Divine Nature. There are some exceptions, that for instance of the Helvetic Confession, which begins with two Articles on the Rule of Faith, as lately explained, the first treating of the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, the second of the use of Fathers, Councils, and Traditions in the interpretation of Scripture, and their third is *De Deo, Unitate eius, et Trinitate*. They treat, therefore, at first sight in a more logical order,—first, of the Rule of Faith; second, of the Divine Nature. We reverse the order, and take first, the Divine Nature; second, the Rule of Faith. The ground for our order is this, the authenticity of the Bible is presupposed; it is taken for granted that every one who studies or assents to these Articles is a

Christian, and no one is a Christian, in any proper sense, who denies the Scriptures to be the Word of God. But although in reference to these five Articles the authenticity of the Bible is presupposed, yet it is necessary somewhere to define what we mean by the Canonical Scriptures, in order, not so much to confute infidels, as to distinguish our scriptural rule of faith from that of the Romanists. In these first five Articles the Roman Catholics and ourselves are upon common ground. Our first difference with Rome is as to the extent of the Rule of Faith.

ARTICLE I.

ARTICULUS I.

De Fide in sacrosanctam Trinitatem.

UNUS est vivus et verus Deus, aeternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis, immensae potentiae, sapientiae, ac bonitatis, Creator et Conservator omnium, tum visibilium, tum invisibilium. Et in unitate huius divinae naturae tres sunt Personae, eiusdem essentiae, potentiae, ac aeternitatis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in the unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

IN this Article there is exact uniformity in the several versions, both Latin and English; so that we may proceed at once to consider the meaning of the Article and its several terms.

The first thing you will observe is that it is not said, "There is a God." Our Reformers saw that there was no occasion to prove the existence of God; that was presupposed in the very term Articles of Religion. You cannot have any religion without a God. An atheist's religion is a contradiction in terms. "He that cometh to God, must believe that He is."¹ And as our Reformers clearly thought it superfluous to treat of the existence of God, it is superfluous for us to go about to prove it. This is said not to disparage what is sometimes called Natural Religion, but because this is an extraneous, and, if necessary, a preliminary inquiry.

What this Article, then, calls upon us to consider is God as revealed. Any antecedent arguments, however useful elsewhere, are of no use here; the simple question is, What does Revelation, admitted to be Divine, tell us of the nature of that God who is admitted to exist? If we were reasoning with atheists, of course the process would be different; it

¹ Heb. xi. 6.

would be utterly futile to reason with them upon the principles which may be without hesitation assumed amongst those who acknowledge themselves Christians, who have been baptized into the great Articles of the Christian Faith, and who are simply desirous of knowing the grounds of this Faith, so as to deepen their convictions, and I trust also to make them Christians in heart and hope indeed, and not only in name. To such inquiries the term Articles of Religion is an intelligible one; but what meaning can it convey to him who is an atheist, that is, who has no religion at all?

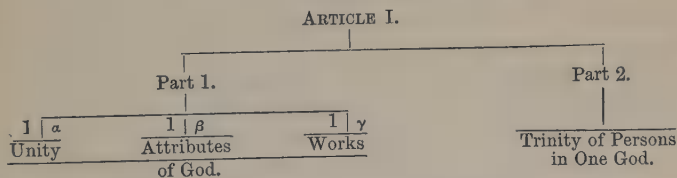
The true scope of Article I. may be ascertained by its title, "Of Faith in the Holy Trinity." Now, the word "Trinity" is not found in the Bible, but it is a convenient compendious expression, adopted by the Church, to signify a great complex truth found in the Bible, in order that by making use of this term in a known restricted sense we may express at once ideas which would require the collection of a great number of passages in Scripture to describe. The word "Trinity" implies many complex mysteries; I mean mysteries, of indefinite extent, so bound together as to be inseparable; and among these mysteries implied in the word "Trinity," when used alone, as in the title of this Article, that which is first implied is Unity, a term which, to the ignorant, sounds like something incompatible with the other, and yet, when examined by the light of Holy Scripture, it will be found to be absolutely essential to the true notion of the Trinity. It is not that we say "Three" and "One" are the same thing, but that the three Persons, who are three in respect of their Persons, are one in respect of their Substance: three Persons not to be confounded—one Substance not to be divided.

Let no one suppose that, in endeavouring to lay before you what the Church means to state as a mystery involved in these compendious terms, we make the slightest pretensions to understanding, still less to explaining, any particle of the mystery. The very terms we use in order to analyse our complex notions of the Trinity are themselves in their own nature unknown to us: "Substance," "Person." We can approximate by analogy to the meaning of these terms, so as to distinguish them from each other; but the real nature of the ideas they represent is hidden from us, yet is not the less certain on that account, but more in conformity with what might be expected. Our reason, surely, as well as Revelation, teaches us that God's nature, being infinite, cannot be fathomed by the finite; that the question put by Zophar the

Naamathite, in the Book of Job,¹ comes home to us all, nay, even to the highest intelligence of the angels: "Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is as high as heaven, what canst thou do? deeper than hell, what canst thou know?" The proper frame of mind, then, with which to approach these mysteries is to expect to find them; to use our reason so far as it may, by God's own permission, enable us to embrace the truth which He has taught us, but not to abuse it by going one step beyond our data. The reason, in matters inscrutable, has not to settle what can be, or how it can be, but to ascertain what is. Nothing is so irrational therefore as Rationalism, because it argues upon principles of which it knows nothing; and the highest exercise of reason is the submission of the reason to evidence, to believe the truth upon evidence, even when its hidden nature is unfathomable to man.²

And now, turning once more from the title to the Article, we can better see its true scope; and we will now go shortly through its several terms.

Its divisions may be sketched out as follows:—



I. 1. α . We shall hereafter prove each several expression point by point. Follow me now through the first sentence, shortly pausing on each several term. The great stress of the first clause is laid upon the word "*One*," which is strengthened by the word "*but*"—but One, only One. The words "*living and true*" are used to meet the errors of Polytheism; there may be many false objects of worship, gods that are called so, which are supposed to be living, but are not, and to be true, but are utterly false: the God whom we worship is distinguished from these shadows by being "*One*" "*living and true*." Again, look to the next word—"everlasting:" those false gods had a beginning, the true God is "*everlasting*," "*aeternus*," without beginning and without end;

¹ Job xi. 7.

² On the other hand, Tertullian goes too far when he says (de Carne Christi, c. 5), "*Sepultus resurrexit: certum est, quia impossibile est.*"

the false gods were corporeal, the true God, as God, is a Spirit, "without body;" the false gods were susceptible of division into parts, indeed they were themselves parts of the divinity; they were represented with bodily forms divisible into parts; "they had mouths and spoke not, eyes and yet they saw not; they had ears and heard not,"¹ etc., whereas the true God is "*impartibilis*," "without parts." The false gods were represented as swayed by human passions, even the most abominable, not by way of analogy, but as a part of their nature; the true God is "*impassibilis*," "without passions." In the next clause (I. 1. β) the word "infinite" is to be repeated before each substantive,—“of infinite power, of infinite wisdom, of infinite goodness;” and so in I. 1. γ God is “the Maker of all things, both visible and invisible,” and the “Preserver of all things, visible and invisible.”

The different parts of this first sentence we may now proceed to prove, repeating and expounding, when necessary, what I have first said.

I. 1. α . In proving the “Unity” of God, I think it better to trust to the Bible alone. Many writers deserve credit for their efforts to prove it both *a priori* and from the visible order of things. I confess that *a priori* argument on the nature of a Being infinite as the Godhead serves only to impress us with a sense of our ignorance, and to fall very far short of being satisfactory or conclusive,—I mean the abstract argument that there can be but one First Cause, and but one Being of infinite perfection. For myself, I am fully persuaded that these propositions are true; and they are useful in all cases as showing at least that probability is on the side of Revelation in this matter in removing antecedent objections, and disposing towards scriptural truth. But we know that when acted on as the main argument, they have failed of convincing unbelievers, and are not only capable of being, but have been often eluded. The other argument, that from experience, is much more valuable in general,—I mean the unity of design in the works of creation, considered as an evidence of unity in the Designer. But even this, though admitted at once by the believer, is yet capable of being resisted if urged by itself. I would rather take my main proofs from Holy Scripture, and regard the *a priori* proof, and that from experience, as under certain circumstances good preparation for Holy Scripture, and auxiliaries to confirm its truth. We know the consequences which have resulted from the ignorance or the forgetfulness of Revelation.

¹ Ps. cxv. 5, 6.

A few philosophers may have retained the Unity—the doctrine is found in Cicero, in the Eleusinian Mysteries, and elsewhere,—but the great body of mankind had forgotten it altogether, and had lapsed into Polytheism, therefore it is of the greatest importance always to revert to Revelation, to keep alive this great primary truth among mankind.

“There is but one God;” this word “one” is not to be taken simply as expressing number—but it means “one” *sui generis*, in a manner peculiar to the Deity; to use the words of Maimonides, “This God is one, not two, nor more than two; but one whose unity is not like that of the ones or individuals that are found in the world; nor one by way of species, containing several individuals under it; nor one as a body is, which may be divided into several parts or extremities; but He is so one as that there is no one in the world so one as He is.”¹

There is but one God. Scriptural proofs of this are found in Deut. vi. 4 (conf. Mark xii. 29); Deut. iv. 39; Isaiah xlv. 5, 21, or xlvi. 9, etc.; Malachi ii. 10; St. John xvii. 3; 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, 6; Eph. iv. 6.

“There is but one living and true God.” That He is living and true is declared in Jer. x. 8, 9, 10; 1 Thess. i. 9. That He is living, in 1 Tim. iii. 15, iv. 10, vi. 17; Acts xiv. 15. His truth, in Psalm xxxi. 5.

I. 1. *β. Aeternus*, everlasting, without beginning or end.

We now begin to speak of God's attributes, that is, properties attributed to Him or ascribed by us to Him. And here, to use the words of Bishop Beveridge, “by *properties* we are not to understand several faculties, habits, or qualities as they are in us. For there is nothing in God but what is God; the mercy of God is the same with the God of mercy; the power of God the same with the God of power; the love of God the same with the God of love; and the truth of God the same with the God of truth. These properties of mercy, power, love, etc., as they are in us, they are accidents, and so really distinguished both from our souls and from one another; but as they are in God, they are His nature and essence, and so neither distinguished from one another nor from Him in whom they are said to be. . . . By the properties therefore of God we are to understand the several apprehensions that we have of Him, according to the several manifestations that He maketh of Himself to us.

¹ R. Mosch. bar Maimon, de Fundam. leg. i. 4, in Beveridge on the Articles, p. 15.

Which variety of discoveries of Himself He maketh to us according to the variety of the objects which we apprehend Him to act upon, and the variety of the circumstances that these objects may lie under. God in Himself is a most simple and pure act, and therefore, as I have showed, cannot have anything in Himself but Himself, but what is that pure and simple act itself. . . . And thus are the several properties that we attribute to God but the several apprehensions that we have in ourselves of Him, according to the several discoveries that He maketh of Himself to us; and, therefore, though, as they are conceived by us, they are many, yet, as they are in Him, they are all but one in the same simple and pure essence."¹

To take now these attributes in detail—God is everlasting. This may be proved from Exod. iii. 14: One who may always say, "I am," who always was, always is, and always is to come (*i.e.* speaking to human intellects): with Deut. xxxiii. 27; Psalm xc. 2; 1 Tim. i. 17; Rev. i. 8, "That was," *i.e.* without beginning; "that is," *i.e.* without succession; "that is to come," *i.e.* without end.

Thus much from Holy Scripture is sufficient to prove God's eternity; to understand it no one is capable but God; least of all can man, who knows nothing of eternity but the slight portion of it which we call time, and who can form no notion even of that without succession, something past, something present, and something to come, whereas God always *Is*.

Negative attributes. God is "without body," *incorporeus*. The clearest notions we can attain to respecting the Deity are gained by removing the notions of imperfection. Now, our idea of body is of something imperfect, destructible, liable to decay, and therefore we should, even by the light of nature, suppose that God is "without body" (and the same thing will apply *mutatis mutandis* as to our natural conceptions of "parts" and "passions"), *i.e.* that He is without material substance, but is a Spirit incorruptible, intangible, without locality, indivisible (these being the properties of bodies, *i.e.* corruptibility, shape, locality, tangibility, visibleness, divisibility); and that, in His own Being, cannot be seen, felt, or heard by bodily senses, nor corrupted nor divided by any means whatever—in a word, "incomprehensible," *i.e.* not confined to space.

We should observe, however, that this abstract idea of God is quite distinct from any method by which God may be

¹ Beveridge on the Articles, i. 18, 20, 21.

pleased to reveal Himself. For instance, God made His "voice" to be heard in Zion and in Horeb to Moses and Elijah; yet we must not conceive of anything similar in nature to the human voice. The same applies to His appearance in the Bush, and to the Shechinah.

I. 1. β. God is "*incorporeus*." This is shown by Deut. iv. 12, and 15, 16, 17, 18; Isaiah xl. 18; 1 Kings viii. 27; St. John i. 18; St. John iv. 24 compared with St. Luke xxiv. 39; Rom. i. 23.

I. 1. β. "Without parts, "*impartibilis*."

This is implied in the last; for it is impossible to conceive a body without parts, or parts without a body of which they are parts. If there were ever so small a portion of matter in the Divine Being, it would be "*partibilis*," for the smallest conceivable portion of matter is still infinitely divisible. The Scriptures, it is true, speak of God's "countenance," His "hands," "feet," "eyes," "ears:" but this is only so spoken in accommodation to the weakness of mortal conception,—mere analogies to help to realize, particularly to men in a rude state of cultivation, the notion of "a Person." When God is said to "see," to "open his eyes,"¹ it merely means that he regards things in a manner analogous to what a human being does when he sees; so when He hears prayers,² it simply means that the prayers come before Him, and produce, by His will, effects analogous to those which follow when an earthly sovereign listens formally to a petition. So again, Numbers vi. 25.

This mode of speech is called by the schoolmen *ἀνθρωποπάθεια*.

The Scriptural proofs are the same as those for the attribute "without body."

I. 1. β. "Without passions," "*impassibilis*."

The very name of "passions" carries with it the notion of imperfection; and all imperfection we abstract from the perfect Being. The notion of passion often implies some change—for instance, when a man is angry, he changes from a state of calm; whereas God is unchangeable.

This is proved from Numbers xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29; James i. 17; Acts xiv. 14, compare James v. 17. If they had not been "men of like passions," then there would have been some excuse for worshipping them; whereas now it was vanity to worship one with human passions.

The ascription to God of love, wrath, grieving, repenting,

¹ 1 Kings viii. 29.

² *Ibid.* ver. 30.

etc., in Holy Scripture, we must refer as before to *ἀνθρωποπάθεια*.¹

This is the proper place for stating that although our blessed Saviour was "*corporeus*," "*partibilis*," "*passibilis*" as "very man," yet as "very God" he has all these attributes as fully as either of the other Persons in the blessed Trinity.

This indeed is the mystery of mysteries, God in the flesh.

We now come to what are often called the positive attributes. In the three foregoing terms we have considered what God is not. We now turn again to what He is. And this is shown both by our abstract notions of God, and by His works, as well as by His word. Yet, after all, this distinction between positive and negative attributes is not altogether satisfactory, for even in these positive attributes we can but express our meaning by the use of a negative. It would not be sufficient to say that God is a Being of power, wisdom, and goodness; but we are compelled to add, as in this Article, the negative adjective "infinite,"—*immensa*. We can, of course, vary the expression, and say that God is all-powerful, all-wise, all-good—but even these expressions do not convey the full meaning so justly as the addition of the word "infinite," as in this Article. For consider the import in a philosophical sense of this word "infinite." It is only an acknowledgment that we cannot assign a limit. When the mind enlarges numbers, for instance, and sees that it can still enlarge, and that there is no appearance of any conceivable limit at which it must stop, it infers infinity of numbers. The same applies to duration, power, etc. So that if a man ascribes infinity to anything, he does no more than express a simple negative fact in the operations of his own mind: he has searched for an end, and has not been able to find one; his mind has attempted to assign a limit to that thing, and has returned disappointed from the attempt.²

I. 1. β. "Of infinite power," *immensa*: St. Matthew xix. 26, and St. Luke i. 37; Rev. xix. 6. "Of infinite wisdom:" Rom. xi. 33; 1 Tim. i. 17; 1 St. John iii. 20. "Of infinite goodness:" Psalm cvi. 1; St. Matthew xix. 17.³

I. 1. γ. "God's works" (creation, preservation, etc.): Gen. i. 1; Neh. ix. 6; Col. i. 16, Heb. i. 2, 3. These two last pas-

¹ The error aimed at in this clause is that of the Anthropomorphitæ, or Vadiani, as they are called by St. Augustine. (De Haeres. 50. "Vadianos . . . alii vocant anthropomorphitas, quoniam Deum fugunt cogitatione carnali in similitudinem hominis corruptibilis."—Ep. Epiph. Haer. 70.)

² See Hey's Lectures, ii. 246. ³ See Beveridge, quoted above, p. 31.

sages prove more than we want at present,—even that Article in the Nicene Creed, “by whom all things were made:” not only the fact that God made them, but also which particular Person in the Trinity was the Agent immediate in creation. The word “Preserver” has special reference to a superintending Providence.

Thus far, then, in this first sentence of Article 1., we have established, on the most unquestionable evidence— α , the Unity; β , the Attributes; γ , the Works, of God.

But indispensable as this part of our faith is, if we went no further we should not be Christians, we should be on a level with Mahometans, with rationalizing Jews, with Unitarians, nay, with the ancient priests of the Eleusinian mysteries: for all these hold the Unity of the Godhead, and, generally speaking, have just conceptions enough respecting His attributes and His works. The difference between these religionists and Christians is, that whereas they hold this truth alone, we hold it in connexion with other truths about the nature of God as certainly and indisputably revealed as this truth—doubtless not to be supported, as this truth is, by abstract reasoning, but as evidently revealed. Although, therefore, we hold this truth just as fully as other systems of religion, we hold it in a very different manner; nay, we are more solicitous to maintain and prove it, because we differ from those who hold it alone. We said that the word “Trinity” is a technical term, always implying the “Unity;” and so the word “Unity” in a Christian mouth is not only consistent and reconcilable with “the Trinity,” but it implies and comprises it. When he expresses his belief in “one God,” he always (*ex vi termini*) confesses thereby and therein three co-equal Persons in that Unity. He worships three Persons and one God—not one God under three different names, or three functions, or three relations, all of which are forms or germs of various heresies, but three distinct Persons in One undivided Godhead: distinct as Persons before all worlds, even without reference to the separate functions which They have been pleased as Persons to discharge in the work of our Redemption. This faith the Church has held from the beginning; and she has held it in each generation, not only because it has been always handed down—in itself a strong presumption for its truth,—but on the self-same ground which we take, viz., the overwhelming evidence of Scripture. Of course, where Scripture is disbelieved, there is an end of the argument; but the genuineness of Scripture is, as I have repeatedly said, supposed to be already established. I

use the word "overwhelming" advisedly, for it is a degree of evidence as to a fact, which if a man were to resist in any subject-matter, he would hardly be considered of sane mind.

Independently of innumerable proofs, direct or indirect, of the doctrine "that every Person by Himself is God and Lord," there are no less than forty-two passages, as enumerated by Dr. Samuel Clarke—we may borrow this from him, though he is a very unsafe authority with regard to some parts of this doctrine—forty-two passages, in which the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are mentioned jointly. I do not mean that in all these forty-two passages the three Persons are mentioned together with equal clearness; but there are amongst them several passages so clear that the light reflected from them serves to interpret those passages which are less clear at first sight. So much, indeed, have the adversaries of this doctrine been pressed by Scripture, that both ancient and modern heretics have been driven to corrupt Scripture or to undermine its authority and inspiration. Their mistranslations of the New Testament are such as every schoolboy could correct: wherever it suits them, they actually expunge whole passages from the New Testament, in spite of all MSS. and all the sound rules of criticism; and many of them in terms deny the inspiration of Scripture, and treat it as a common book.

I. 2. "In unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Here our business is not to enlarge upon this incomprehensible mystery, but to use as far as we can the few brief formulæ which God for our safety has provided in the ancient Creeds of the Church. If the Scriptures were placed in our hands without any clue, it might be the business of our lives to make out the doctrine, involving as it does two separate propositions combined together; and we might, even with all our pains, fall unconsciously into error, from ignorance of the history of the errors which have in so many ages arisen and been confuted. The three Creeds are not only records of truth, but records of error. For instance, every several clause in the Athanasian Creed implies its correlative error, which has openly prevailed, or which lurked in some other error. Now, if we were left to ourselves—ordinary persons, I mean,—or if we were to act so unphilosophically as to reject the experience which has pointed out these dangers, the probability is that we should fall into those errors. Therefore, whenever we are in any doubt, it is safest and wisest to use the very words of the Creeds, or

at all events equivalent ones, not as proving the truth in question, but as expressing it—the proof being reserved to the Scriptures. It is certain that the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity solves all the apparent contradictions, or rather partially expressed truths, on the nature of God, which may be found scattered in different parts of the Scriptures; that this, and this only, combines in one expression all the various portions of truth which are dispersed through the whole volume.

The method of proving the Trinity of Persons from Scripture may be looked upon as twofold: either, first, by adducing texts which mention the three Persons together in such a way that the glory must be considered as equal and the majesty co-eternal; or, secondly, by showing “each Person by Himself to be God and Lord,” “and yet not three Gods, or three Lords.” Each of these methods throws light upon the others, and accordingly must be examined by us separately and jointly in order to our proof. I shall begin with the first—I. 2. *a*.

SCRIPTURAL PROOFS OF I. 2. *a*.

Indications in the Old Testament of a Trinity of Persons (*N.B.* We are not now speaking of the Divinity of our Lord, of which the plainest proofs exist in the Old Testament, or rather confirmations of the doctrine when known from the New Testament): Genesis i. 26; Psalm xxxiii. 6—obscure and doubtful; Isaiah vi. 3, xlii. 1.

Upon such passages, though it is right to notice them as confirming *pro tanto* our faith, we must not dwell, as they rather imply than reveal the doctrines. We proceed to the other texts, beginning with the three palmary ones, *i.e.* St. Matthew xxviii. 19; 2 Cor. xiii. 14; Rev. i. 4, 5.

St. Matthew xxviii. 19: “Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

On the supposition that each of the three Persons herein named is not God the whole passage is utterly inconceivable. It is to my mind absolutely incredible that any writer professing to deliver truth could have committed the blasphemy of placing in connexion with the name of the Father, and in grammatical dependence upon the same words, the names of two beings who were not partakers of the same nature. Let us remember that God is a jealous God, one who has declared, “I am the Lord, that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another.”¹ Yet in this passage, according to the

¹ Isaiah xlii. 8.

heretical hypothesis, the glory and name due to God only is given to another. Observe more particularly the form of the expression (*εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*), evidently implying the Unity. To baptize into "the name" of the Father and of two other Beings, as if the three Beings had all only one name, is intelligible and pious on the hypothesis that they are all three of one substance, power, eternity; but becomes utterly inconsistent and impious if the two Persons so joined are not strictly partakers of the Divine Nature. By "name" is meant either "by the authority," or "that the baptized person is dedicated to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." Either of these senses, as it proves them all to be Persons, so it sets them in an equality in a thing which can only belong to the Divine Nature. Baptism is the receiving men from a state of wrath into a state of favour, and with the privileges of God's sons, and a calling of them into certain relations towards God. These are things which can only be offered and assured to men in the name of God; and, therefore, as we find the three Persons set in the same relation to this word "Name," and to all which it implies, without any note of inequality, we infer that the "Name" equally belongs to them all; therefore each Person is God and Lord; yet it is but One Name, not three Lords or three Gods, but One God.

Nor is it in reference only to its explicitness that this text is valuable, but on account of the holy rite with which it is incorporated. As the baptism of our Saviour was marked by the special presence of each Person,¹ so is the baptism of each Christian honoured by the invocation and presence of the same Three Persons, and we bear about with us during our whole Christian life a living evidence to the truth of the Trinity in Unity, and to our personal share in the truths and privileges therein implied.

2 Cor. xiii. 14 (*Gr.* verse 13): "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all."

As in the preceding text the three Persons were placed in grammatical dependence without any mark of difference on the one substantive "Name," so here they are placed in grammatical connexion with the words *μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν*. It is a form of benediction applicable to all Christians in the name of God (expressly named in the second place), and yet it is equally correct and pious to pray for all Christians that they may have "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ," or that

¹ St. Matt. iii. 16, 17.

they may have "the communion of the Holy Ghost," as to pray for all Christians that they may have "the love of God." On any other hypothesis than that of the Trinity in Unity the passage becomes either blasphemy or nonsense; in the orthodox view of the words, as adopted from the first, the words convey to every individual who receives them an inexhaustible source of comfort, peace, and grace. There is but One God who can bless all Christian people; yet we find here three Persons prayed to by implication, to bless according to certain several relations which are attributed to them here—"Grace," "Love," "Communion." This proof, then, it would appear, is analogous to the last, placing in grammatical juxtaposition three Persons, and attributing to them a share in the benediction, which, on any other hypothesis but the orthodox one, could not be assigned to two of the three without impiety and blasphemy.

Remember that these two texts, whichever of the two is proved first, throw light reciprocally on each other.

From this text a certain amount of proof is derivable respecting the "co-equality" of the Three Persons in the Godhead by remarking the order in which they are here named as compared with St. Matt. xxviii. 19, and also with Rev. i. 4, 5. The value of this fact may be estimated by considering what the infidel could have said if the First, Second, and Third Persons were always named in that order. The order, therefore, in this point of view is providential.

Rev. i. 4, 5: "Grace be unto you, and peace, from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven Spirits which are before his throne; and from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful Witness, and the first-begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth."

The argument here is similar to that derived from the two preceding passages. First, take the relation between the Father and the Son, "grace and peace," being prayed for on behalf of the "seven churches," from both the Father and the Son (whose human nature, let us observe in passing, is also stated at the end of verse 5, together with an ascription of eternal glory due only to God). There is no sign of difference between the two Persons, and the second Person is in this same chapter described as "the first and the last" (ver. 17), in a context which can only belong to Him, as "he that liveth, and was dead." The chief point requiring attention in this passage is the interposition of the words "the seven Spirits which are before the throne," between the mention of the Father and of the Son. That this is a periphrasis for the Holy Spirit with His sevenfold gifts has been

the received opinion from the beginning, and some such periphrasis seems in the nature of the case indispensable, as on the hypothesis of its meaning seven angels we should have the result before alluded to, that seven creatures are associated with, and placed between, the names of the Persons, one of whom is confessedly God, and the other inferentially so, from the very words of this same chapter. The proof as to the correctness of the periphrasis may be entered into by those who have leisure.

In the meantime, remark that all the three passages are cumulative and reciprocally illustrative of each other.

Mark also the order in which the three Persons are named in the several passages.

1 St. John v. 7: "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one."

This place it would be wrong to quote by itself, or to quote it at all without express reference to the doubt which exists as to its genuineness. It is impossible now to enter into the controversial question about the verse; merely to give an idea of the literature concerning it, or a mere list of the works, very voluminous, for or against, would take up a considerable time. The late Bishop Burgess, it is said, wrote one hundred pamphlets in its defence. It is enough to say, that though many great scholars have disputed it, yet many as great have defended it. These differ according to the bias of their own minds. For myself, I shrink from stating my opinion without further inquiry as to whether the evidence preponderates for or against the genuineness. As to the MSS., the preponderance seems to be against it—not one Greek MS. can now be found with the passage, before the sixteenth century, nor any early printed edition, nor any version in MS., except some Latin MSS., nor any of the genuine Greek Fathers. As to Latin Fathers, it is a moot point. Vigilius Thapsensis (at the end of the fifth century) is said to be the first who distinctly quotes it. Some passages were formerly alleged as from Fathers from works now known to be spurious, even by Bishop Beveridge, even in the revised Oxford edition of his Commentary (posthumous) on the Thirty-nine Articles.

Other passages are:—St. Matthew xii. 28; St. Luke i. 35; St. John xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26—all taken together; Acts ii. 33, vii. 55, x. 38; Rom. i. 1, 3, 4, v. 5, 6, viii. 9, 11, xv. 18, 19, 30, xv. 15, 16; 1 Cor. vi. 11, xii. 3, 4, 5, 6; 2 Cor. i. 21, 22, iii. 3; Gal. iv. 6; Eph. i. 17, ii. 18, 21, 22, iv. 4, 5, 6; 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14; Titus iii. 4, 5, 6; Heb. ii. 3, 4, ix. 14;

1 St. Pet. i. 2, 3, iii. 18, iv. 14; 1 St. John iv. 2, 3, 13, 14, v. 6 (this is confessedly genuine); Jude 20, 21; Rev. i. 9, 10.

We have now finished, therefore, I. 2. *a*—that part of our argument which I stated to consist of passages mentioning all the three Persons together in such a manner as was inconsistent with their inequality as touching their Godhead.

I. 2. *β*. We now come to the other part of the argument, as we stated it, *i.e.* that by which it is proved that every Person by Himself is God and Lord.

I. 2. *β*. *a*. Of the Father it is not denied.

I. 2. *β*. *b*. Of the Son it is proved in Article II., His Divinity and Oneness with the Father.

I. 2. *β*. *c*. Of the Holy Ghost it is proved in Article v., His Personality and Divinity.

We might of course anticipate and prove these two last here as well as in Article II. and Article v., but it would be labour repeated. We must wait, therefore, till we have proved the truth of those two Articles respectively, and then come back to this first Article. In the meantime we have sufficient grounds for believing that the second part of Article I. is scriptural and true; and now the first and second parts being combined, and mutually involving and modifying each other, the result is the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, three unconfounded Persons in one undivided substance.

“This is the Catholic Faith,” that is, the faith founded, as we have seen, on the Bible, and acknowledged to be therein contained, and, being scriptural, held by all Christians everywhere and always. Now this famous rule of Vincentius Lirinensis (*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus, etc. etc.*), though undoubtedly sound and good in the main, requires some modification and limitation in practice; for there have been times, there have been places, there have been individuals, when, where, and by whom this vital doctrine has been lost sight of, or at least obscured; yet it remains and ever will remain a scriptural truth. The fact is that such occasional exceptions are comparatively insignificant; they are exceptions which only prove the rule. The exceptions are the discordant cries of heretics; the rule is the all but unanimous consent of all Christendom from the earliest times, receiving and handing down in turn the belief of each generation of believers, a belief founded not only in true tradition and traditional practice (as is the case with infant baptism), but on a continual and successive recurrence to the same passages and the same tenor of Holy Writ. In

order therefore to appreciate the exact weight of this argument from Catholic belief, after deducting the opinions of its adversaries, two things are necessary, which I can only indicate without attempting to follow out: *First*, the whole history of early heresy; *Second*, the whole history of Catholic teaching—all heresy being more or less connected with this subject, and all Catholic teaching being interwoven with it. It is manifest however that either of these subjects would require a course of lectures, which should extend beyond the limits of the time usually spent in this College, and I therefore only name it as a hint to those who may hereafter follow theology as a study. I shall hereafter just mention the main heresies according to their principal characteristics; but as all these heresies, whether on the main question of the Holy Trinity, or on the Person of Christ, or on the Personality and operations of the Holy Ghost, are connected together, and mutually imply and generate each other, it will be better to postpone even this slight notice of them till after Article v. And as to the other point, the succession of Catholic teaching, I shall content myself here with a few passages from authorities prior to the Council of Nice, 325, since after that time there cannot be the smallest doubt of the Faith universally professed in every Creed, Liturgy, Canon, and individual writer in the Church. The Council of Nice was in fact the turning-point of the whole question; the Council is in itself an evidence that heresies on this matter were beginning to increase, and the consequence was a more firm consolidation and more precise definition of the truth. St. Augustine himself tells us that the doctrine was not so perfectly discussed till the attacks of the Arians showed the necessity for doing so. Accordingly in anterior writers we find it rather taken for granted than controversially argued, as in such passages as the following:—

Clement of Rome, Epist. i. ad Cor. c. 46: “Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of Grace?”

Ignatius, Epist. ad Magn. c. 13: “Be subject to the Bishop, as the Apostles were to Christ, and the Father, and the Spirit.”

Justin Martyr, Apol. c. 13—“The Creator of all this universe, what prudent man will not confess? and our teacher in these things, having learned that he is the Son of the true God, and holding Him in the second place; and I will further show that we have reason in honouring the Prophetic Spirit in the third place.”

Theophilus, ad Autol. ii. 15: “The three days before the stars are types of the Trinity” (τῆς Τριάδος, the first known

use of the word in this sense), "of the Father, and His Word, and His Wisdom."

Athenagoras, *Legat. pro Christ.* c. 10: "Who would not be confounded at hearing us termed Atheists, though we confess God the Father, and God the Son, and the Holy Spirit, showing forth both their power in their unity, and their distinctness in their order?"

Tertullian, *adv. Prax.* cc. 11, 12: "In these few words the distinction of the Trinity is manifestly set forth. For there is both the Spirit Himself who beareth witness, and the Father to whom he bears witness, and the Son of whom He bears witness."

Cyprian, *Ep.* 73, sect. 6: "By these words, 'Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' he intimates the Trinity, by whose sacrament the Gentiles should be baptized."¹

Besides these, the early Liturgies of the Church prove the universal prevalence of the same doctrine. The hymn "Ter-sanctus" has always been looked upon as an acknowledgment to the Trinity, and of course the Doxology or Gloria Patri, which is from time immemorial, does the same thing. A remarkable testimony to this is furnished by Justin Martyr: "The priest sends up praise and glory to the Father of the Universe through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,"² and a little after, "And in all our offerings we bless the Maker of all things through His Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Spirit."

In imitation of these early Liturgies our own Book of Common Prayer³ adopts the mystery in its fullest and most practical sense. Witness the three Creeds, the Te Deum, the Litany, the Veni Creator Spiritus, and the ordinary conclusion of all our prayers, all implying, some expressly naming, this truth. See the Collects for Trinity-Sunday, Ascension-Day, Sunday after Ascension-Day, Whitsunday, etc. etc.

¹ For further passages see Kidd on the Articles, p. 34, etc.; Tomline's *Elements*, vol. ii. 91, etc.

² *Just. Mart. Apol.* 1.

³ Concerning this Bishop Jer. Taylor has said that "the offices for Christmas, Annunciation, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, etc., are so ordered that if they be summed up they will be an excellent creed, and the very design of the day teaches an Article of Faith." See Preface to *Apology for the Liturgy*, sects. 36, 37.

ARTICLE II.

ARTICULUS II.

Verbum Dei uerum hominem esse factum.

FILIUS, qui est uerbum Patris, ab aeterno a Patre genitus uerus et aeternus Deus, ac Patri consubstantialis, in utero Beatae uirginis ex illius substantia naturam humanam assumpsit: ita ut duae naturae, diuina et humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate personae, fuerint inseparabiliter coniunctae: ex quibus est unus CHRISTUS, uerus Deus et uerus Homo: qui uere passus est, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut Patrem nobis reconciliaret, essetque hostia non tantum pro culpa originis, uerum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word or Son of God, which was made very Man.

THE Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God, and very Man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

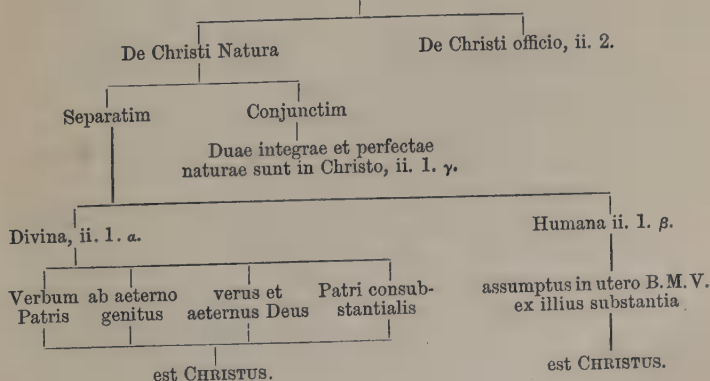
THE doctrine of the Trinity in Unity thus far would be less unacceptable to the natural pride of man if it were confined to that which Article I. considered by itself, if it could be so considered, teaches us. Abstractedly, men would acquiesce in the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead, but for the further truths respecting those Persons which Revelation teaches and the Church has ever believed. But for this the philosophers of this world would regard the Trinity worshipped throughout Christendom with the same indifference as they would the Trinity of the Hindus. That which is their chief stumbling-block is the doctrine expressly included in that of the Trinity, respecting, first, the Incarnation of our Lord, and, second, the Personality and ministerial operations of the Holy Ghost, and His real though spiritual indwelling in the hearts of faithful men, especially the former; and as it is their chief stumbling-block, so it is to us the most vital Article of our Faith, one without which Christianity is a mere name. In accepting, therefore, the truth of Article I. as scriptural and catholic, *i.e.* as irrefragably true, we accepted beforehand whatever was upon

scriptural and catholic grounds to be included in it; the whole question turning upon proof of these further doctrines, and after proof given we go back to Article I., and expressly embody those additional facts in the proposition of Article I.; so that when we say, "in the Unity of this Godhead there be three Persons," we understand by these "three Persons," "the Father, made of none, neither created nor begotten," "the Son, of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten," who in His own Person unites the Godhead and the Manhood, and "the Holy Ghost, of the Father and the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding," who exercises diversities of operations in His Church. Mysteries these to be believed, because, and as far as, revealed, not to be curiously inquired into as to what is not revealed.

If we compare Article II. as we have it with the edition of 1552 we find added the words "begotten from everlasting . . . with the Father:" the earlier version being taken almost verbatim from Article III. of the Confession of Augsburg. This is one proof that our Reformers had no objection to borrow what was good from the Lutherans, and yet that they were no slavish imitators, for they have manifestly improved upon their pattern, as by using the phrase "Filius qui est Verbum Dei" in place of "Verbum, hoc est Filius Dei;" by adding "ex illius substantia," and by changing "vere Deus et vere Homo" into "verus Deus et verus Homo."

The Article divides itself into two sentences, first, to "very Man;" second, to the end. The first sentence treats of the Nature of Christ, the second of His Office in the Redemption of mankind, as is shown by the following scheme:—

ARTICLE II.



II. 1. *a.* (1.) The scriptural identity of the Son and the Word as a Person: ‘The Son which is the Word of the Father.’ The Word (ὁ λόγος) is not, as some heretics would have it, “audible speech,” or “inward reason,” or “the power and energy of God” (Priestley); but a Person, as understood by the Jews, and connected by them with their notions of the Messiah; and, therefore, when St. John speaks of the Word it would be *a priori* probable that, as a Jew, he might mean the Messiah. But on examining the passages of Holy Scripture, where the term occurs, this is placed beyond all doubt. It is probably true that only one writer of the New Testament uses it, and that only in four distinct places, viz., St. John i. 1, i. 14; (1 St. John v. 7); Rev. xix. 13, and probably 1 St. John i. 1.¹

Now on examining these passages, the identity of the Word as a Person with the Son as a Person will clearly result. We have no question here, whether Plato or the Platonists held in any sense the notion of a λόγος; the use of the word might have been borrowed from the Platonists (though it is more probable that the Platonists borrowed it from the Jews), as any other word might be, and generally must be, of human origination; but it may be applied in a defined sense to something divine. All such inquiries are beside the question, mere etymological disquisitions as to the origin of a word, whereas our only business is the sense in which St. John employed it. Look then to St. John i. 1, compared with St. John i. 14. First take St. John i. 1 by itself. Substitute the heretic’s explanation of λόγος, and what results but utter nonsense? “In the beginning” was “audible speech,” or “inward reason,” or the “energy of God.” This speech, reason, or energy, was with God, and was God. It (observe the masculine, οὗτος) was in the beginning with God; all things were made by it, and without it was not anything made that was made: in it, etc. etc. Now only compare the passage so interpreted with Genesis i. —how simple and sublime is Moses, how confused and unmeaning is the opening of the Gospel! But further, now go on, and substitute in verse 14 the same paraphrase: “and the Word was made flesh, *i.e.* the ‘audible speech,’ or ‘inward reason,’ or ‘the energy of God,’ was made flesh, and dwelt among us (ἐσκήνωσεν), and we beheld the glory of the ‘audible speech,’ or ‘inward reason,’ or the ‘energy of

¹ Bishop Bull, Sermon x. vol. i. p. 243, considers ὁ λόγος in Hebrews iv. 12, 13, to be the Word, referring to Philo. See also 1 St. Peter i. 23; 2 St. Peter iii. 5, 6.

God,' the glory as of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth"—observe that these last words do not belong grammatically to "the Only Begotten of the Father," but to λόγος, whatever that means. How it may strike others I know not; but to me it appears that the mere statement of this interpretation, merely laying the words together with those pretended meanings of the term λόγος, carries with it its own palpable refutation. So true it is that Rationalism is the most irrational of all things. Now let us take the orthodox interpretation, and substitute, with all Christian antiquity, the term, "Son of God" (as in the Article), or "the Son," wherever the term λόγος occurs, or the pronoun which stands in its place. "In the beginning was 'the Son,' and 'the Son' was with God, and 'the Son' was God. This Person (οὗτος) was in the beginning with God, all things were made by Him (δι' αὐτοῦ) *i.e.* by 'the Son,' etc. (through the next two verses.) Now compare this again with Genesis i., and what a comprehensive and sublime commentary on Moses does St. John afford! Thus taken, it gives an interpretation consistent with itself, and according with the Scriptures, where oftentimes the selfsame things predicated here of "the Word," are predicated of "the Son of God." Now pass on in like manner to verse 14, taking it separately at first. What results? "And 'the Son' was made flesh, and tabernacled among us, full of grace and truth, and we beheld the glory of 'the Son,' the glory as of the Only Begotten of the Father." How harmoniously does all this accord together! in which, as in the other Evangelists, the Person is introduced at the opening of the Gospel who is to be the subject of the history, the Person of whom precisely the same things are recorded so often in the New Testament. And now join verse 1 and verse 14 together. Verse 14 tells us of the incarnate God, God manifest in the flesh; the first verse tells us of the Only Begotten of the Father, begotten and existing and creating before all worlds; the same Person in both passages under the same appellation ὁ λόγος. So that St. John in this chapter, in effect, proves the whole of the first sentence of Article II., besides that for which I immediately alleged it, the proof, namely, of II. 1. a. (1.)—the "identity of 'the SON' and 'the WORD.'"

II. 1. a. (1.) 1 St. John v. 7—not pressed, for the reasons given in Article I.

II. 1. a. (1.) Rev. xix. 13: "His name is called The Word of God." The whole context, vv. 11, 12, proves that it is a Person—translate καλεῖται "is." Now the

word "Son" substituted for "the Word of God," gives a sense and meaning to the passage consistent with other parts of Scripture, whereas the substitution of "inward reason," "audible speech," or "energy of God," makes utter nonsense. The "Word of God" is the same Person as the one just described as called "Faithful and True," the very name before given in this same Book of Revelation to our Lord¹ (see also "his eyes were as a flame of fire," Rev. i. 13, 14, applied there to *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*, as here (verse 12) to the Person called *ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ*).²

II. 1. a. (1.) 1 St. John i. 1. Make the same substitution, and the same results will follow.

Therefore II. 1. a. (1.) is proved—"The Son is the Word of the Father."

II. 1. a. (2.) This Son or Word was begotten of the Father from everlasting.

Now, of course, here as elsewhere, we make no pretensions to understanding or even defining the terms employed. We can have no definite notions on such subjects. But though we may not understand the meaning of the terms as signs of things, we may approximate to understanding them as signs of relations. Now "the Son" and "the Father" are correlative terms; that is, terms so related to each other, as mutually to imply and to be implied; and the word "only begotten," appears to be one which fitly expresses this mutual relation as bearing upon this high mystery. The use of the word *μονογενής* expresses that this relation is something peculiar, *sui generis*. If, therefore, the Son existed from all eternity, this relation designated by the word "only begotten" also existed from all eternity. *Begotten* might be construed to apply also to our Lord's birth in time, as well as to His generation from all eternity; but it is properly to be understood of His eternal generation. The manner or mode of this it is of course impious as well as useless to inquire into. All that we need acknowledge as a fact is, that from all eternity the Son stood in the same relation to the Father. "Begotten," therefore, or "only begotten," is implied whenever "Father" or "Son" is mentioned.

The point is proved by St. John i. 14, 18, iii. 16-18; Hebrews i. 1-6 (cp. Psalm ii. 7, which was always interpreted of the Messiah by the ancient Jews); 1 St. John iv. 9.

¹ Rev. i. 5, iii. 14.

² See also Heb. iv. 12, 13, and Bishop Bull's Sermon x. p. 243; also 2 St. Pet. iii. 5, 6.

In addition to this, we may say, whatever proves the pre-existence of the Son is a proof that He was begotten before all worlds. When, therefore, we bring texts to prove His pre-existence or His Divinity, which implies His eternal existence, we prove this proposition. The following propositions, then, when proved, will confirm this proposition.

II. 1. a. (3.) "The Son is very and eternal God."

The real difficulty in this part of the Article is to compress the proofs into a sufficiently narrow compass. The multiplicity and variety of the proofs is such that several lectures would not exhaust the subject; and no wonder that the abundance of the evidence should bear some proportion to the paramount importance of the doctrine. For a belief in this truth is the turning-point of our religion. He who does not believe that Jesus Christ as Lord is and ever has been "God of God," "Light of Light," "Very God of very God"—expressions at once intimating His eternal proper existence and His relation to the Father—does not believe the atonement in the Christian sense; and it is historically true that those who have depreciated the Divinity correspondingly disregard the Atonement of our Lord. In other words, one who denies our Lord's Divinity is no true Christian; for without the atonement Christianity is but an empty name. But we are rather anticipating the last sentence in the Article. I have mentioned the subject of atonement here, by way of accounting for the immense variety and multiplicity of the proofs of the Divinity. I must content myself with bringing forward only a few, but I would take this opportunity most earnestly to impress upon you the duty of observing for yourselves. One of the chief difficulties of the solitary student of Scripture is to know what to observe. One main object of these Lectures is to teach what to observe for yourselves. I trust that not one of you neglects to read a portion of Scripture every day; and if you do read, you may have daily opportunity of collecting for yourselves proofs of our Lord's Divinity. It is always good to read Scripture with some definite object; and you can have no higher object than this as a special object of study, which would most profitably bear upon this portion of the Thirty-nine Articles. I would recommend, with the object in view just stated, the Gospel of St. John the Evangelist, called, as you may remember, in the Revelation, Θεολόγος, *i.e.* pre-eminently showing Θεὸς Λόγος.

Amongst countless passages to prove this point, I select a few.

There are two classes of such passages: 1st, such wherein

the name of God is given to our Lord; 2dly, Passages which apply to Him attributes or agencies proper to God Himself, or assert His equality.

Class 1.—St. John i. 1, xx. 28; Acts xx. 28;¹ Rom. ix. 5; 1 Tim. iii. 16;² Heb. i. 8; Tit. ii. 13;³ Isa. ix. 6.

Class 2.—God's attributes are predicated of Christ, viz., Eternal existence, Immortality or unchangeableness, Creative power, Power of preserving, Doing whatever the Father doeth, Equality with God, Omnipresence, Omniscience, Right to be worshipped, Oneness with the Father, Having all that the Father hath.

a. Eternal Existence.—St. John i. 1, viii. 58 compared with Exod. iii. 14; St. John xvii. 5, 25; Col. i. 17; Heb. i. 11, 12, xiii. 8; Rev. i. 8-17, xxii. 13.

b. Immortality, Unchangeableness.—Heb. i. 11, 12, xiii. 8.

c. Creative Power.—St. John i. 3, 10; Col. i. 16, with context before and after; Heb. i. 2, iii. 4.

d. Power of Preserving.—Heb. i. 3; Col. i. 17.

e. Doing whatsoever the Father doeth.—St. John v. 19, 20 (comp. vers. 17, 18), x. 37, 38, xiv. 10; 1 Thess. iii. 11.

f. Equality with God.—Phil. ii. 6: "He did not deem the being equal to God a thing to be seized on, or exclusively prized;" comp. St. John v. 18, Zech. xiii. 7.

g. Omnipresence.—St. John iii. 13; St. Matt. xviii. 20, xxviii. 20.

h. Omniscience.—St. John xvi. 30, ii. 24, 25, xxi. 17; Col. ii. 3; Rev. ii. 23; Acts i. 24, καρδιογνώστα;⁴ xv. 8.

i. Right to be worshipped.—St. Matthew xv. 22, 25, 28; St. John xx. 28; Acts vii. 59, 60, ἐπικαλούμενος sc. Θεόν;⁵

¹ ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. αἵματος here must apply to Christ crucified; περιποιήσατο must have Θεός implied as its subject, for there is no other person named for several verses; therefore God has purchased God's Church with His blood, i.e. Christ has done it; therefore Christ is God. It is noticeable that the expression ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ occurs in the New Testament eleven times, ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου never, though in this passage κυρίου is found in the Alexandrian and other good mss. The Vatican and Sinaitic mss. have, however, Θεοῦ, and it seems the more probable reading on the whole. See Alford *in loc.*

² Θεός ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. In this passage however the evidence now seems to be largely in favour of the reading δὲ ἐφανερώθη. See Alford and Ellicott *in loc.*

³ See also 2 St. Pet. i. 1, compared with 2 St. Pet. i. 11.

⁴ The full value of this passage will be seen by bringing out the fact that Κύριε there addresses our blessed Lord Himself, who ἐξελέξατο His Apostles, and is now called on to show ἕνα δὲ ἐξελέξω, i.e. Matthias, to be a substitute apostle for Judas. See the use of the word in St. Luke vi. 13; St. John vi. 70, xiii. 18, xv. 16-19; Acts i. 2.

⁵ The word ἐπικαλεῖσθαι is used at least twelve times in the New Testament in this sense of worshipping.

Rev. xix. 10, contrasted with Acts x. 25; St. John v. 23; Phil. ii. 10, 11; Heb. i. 6.

k. Oneness with the Father.—St. John x. 30-33, xvii. 11, 22, xiv. 10, 11.

l. Having all that the Father hath.—St. John xvi. 14, 15, xvii. 10.

As I have said, many more proofs could be found under these heads or similar heads respectively, and when all were collected we should have the full proofs, of which we have now only a specimen.¹

II. 1. *a.* (4.) We now come to that portion of the question respecting our Lord's Divine Nature which concerns His consubstantiality with the Father. The Article asserts, and we have to give proof, that "the Word or Son is of one substance with the Father." From the whole course of our proof hitherto it has incontrovertibly resulted that the Person of the Son is distinct from the Person of the Father, the denial of which truth can lead only to confusion and blasphemy, like that of the Patripassians, who asserted that the Father suffered upon the Cross; the correlative truth is, that these three Persons are of one substance. This proposition Bishop Bull, the soundest of theologians, has declared in the recapitulation of his great work (Def. Fid. Nicaen.) to be the hinge on which the whole question of our Lord's Divinity turns.² It was included in the last sentence of Article i.—as regards the Holy Ghost it will recur in Article v.—yet in a case of such extreme importance it is right to give it special consideration here.

Reserving, then, the scriptural proof to the end, I shall begin by a short account of the belief which has ever been maintained in the Church. It may be stated without fear of refutation that there never was a time from the very beginning when the Church held any other doctrine. It is true that the first Canonical sanction was given it in the Council of Nice, when the words were inserted into the ancient Creed, as we now find them in the Nicene Creed, and the word *ὁμοούσιος*, in Latin writers *homoūsius*, so far as we know, was framed for the occasion.³ But no mistake would be so great as to imagine that the doctrine was then first invented

¹ An admirable exposition of the full compounded truth of Christ's nature is to be found in Hooker, Eccl. Pol. v. liv. 4.

² Bull, vol. v. part ii. p. 299.

³ The word occurs however in a passage of Dionysius of Alexandria (c. Paul. Samos. p. 214): *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ ἐληγμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων*, which seems to show that even then it was no new word.—J. R. K.

or asserted. The fact is just the reverse: the doctrine was more strictly defined then, because it was then first seriously impugned. In all the records of the early Fathers which have come down to us, the doctrine is often expressly affirmed; nor is there one single author during those three centuries who did not hold the same. And as to those whose writings are lost, we have abundant evidence, in a passage of St. Athanasius, which his opponents would have contradicted if they could, and in which he challenges the Arians as follows: "Behold! I demonstrate to you that this opinion has been delivered from Father to Father. But ye, O ye Judaizers and disciples of Caiaphas, whom can ye name as the fathers of your assertions? I say you cannot name one author of character (τῶν φρονίμων καὶ δικαίων). For all turn away from you except Satan, the author of this apostasy, who has also persuaded you to calumniate the Canonical Council of Nice because they have written οὐ τὰ ὑμέτερα, but those things which the eye-witnesses and servants of the Word have handed down."¹ If at any time you should be induced to study this question in its details, I refer you once more to Bishop Bull's *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae*, a masterpiece of controversy. The result of all this is, that the term *ὁμοούσιος* in the Nicene Creed was only the concentrated expression for previously existing tenets of faith. I must just mention, before quitting this part of the subject, that the Arian party endeavoured, though vainly, to introduce the word *ὁμοιούσιος*, "of similar substance," as a substitute for *ὁμοούσιος*—the result of which, if consistently followed up, would have been a denial of the Unity of the Godhead.

Scriptural proofs of this point are found in St. John x. 30, xiv. 9, 10, 11, xvii. 11, 21, 22; Phil. ii. 6; Heb. i. 3.

We have completed in detail the proof of Christ's Divine Nature, as stated in Article II. Before we proceed to the next head, I would say a few words respecting the state of the argument as it now stands.

1. Observe that we have already acquired one more of those principles which we declared to enter into the conclusion of Article I. Our object then was to prove the Trinity in Unity, by proving every Person Himself to be God and Lord. It was assumed as granted with respect to the Father. It has now been proved of the Son, and it will be proved (Article v.) of the Holy Ghost—so that we are one step

¹ Athan. de Synodi Nic. decretis, vol. i. p. 253, quoted by Bull, v. 2, p. 801.

further advanced in that argument, which, you will remember, I specially reserved.

2. But over and above this, we have ascertained one of the Natures which belong to the One Person of our Lord. It is now fixed by multifarious proofs that the Word or Son is and ever has been perfect God. And this truth respecting His Person remains unaltered, whatever else we may have to predicate of that same Person. The importance of this doctrine, as regards the Christian Faith, is mainly owing to its indissoluble connexion with the correlative doctrine which we have now to consider, namely, our Lord's perfect Humanity; the result of this union being the one Christ, as He is, very God and very man; for upon Christ as He is every fact of our redemption turns. I am rather anticipating the third main division respecting the Nature of Christ, whilst our attention is now demanded for the second.

II. 1. *β.* The Son, who has been thus characterized as God, "took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance."

"The Word" or "Son" "took man's nature,"—was a real human being, in soul and in body, or (in the terms of the Athanasian Creed) "of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting." The term "took" implies pre-existence and the concurrence of His own Divine Will (the term would be wholly inapplicable to mere man), as does also the expression "came down from heaven."

Now, for the proof, the whole history of the life and ministry of our Lord, as contained in the Gospel, evinces (to use the words of Bishop Tomline) that "except His miraculous conception and His freedom from sin, He was in all things like unto man; He was born and grew up like other infants, He was circumcised like other Israelites, He increased in wisdom as He did in stature,¹ He was supported by the usual modes of nutrition, so that His enemies observed He came eating and drinking, and even after His resurrection He did eat before His disciples; He slept, He was subject to fatigue, hunger, and thirst; He was in all things tempted like men, He wept (and this, it has been well observed, implied both body and affections); His soul was exceeding sorrowful, He suffered severe agony of mind, He prayed when in tribulation and suffering, and at length expired upon the cross; and even after His resurrection He convinced His doubting disciples that He had flesh and bones." To give all the scriptural proofs of this would be to transcribe the Scriptures.

¹ St. Luke ii. 40, 52.

Select proofs are found in St. John i. 14 ; Hebrews ii. 14 to end (iv. 15, v. 2) ; 1 Tim. ii. 5.

“Took man’s nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin.”

The particular point to be observed here is only that the Son began to be a human being before He was born, as other human beings begin to be. So it is said distinctly by the angel to the blessed Virgin, “Thou shalt conceive in thy womb.”¹

The Virgin is mentioned in all the Creeds (though in the Athanasian Creed she is only entitled mother,—“man of the substance of His mother.”) And she has ever been regarded in the Church with due honour as the blessed instrument miraculously employed for furnishing and nourishing a body which was essentially necessary for the work of Redemption—therefore “blessed among women”—but still a creature, before and after her miraculous instrumentality like other ordinary women—a human being employed to impart humanity to the Word, and in no sense having the slightest pretension to share in the Divine honour. I shall have occasion (Article XXII.) to speak at large on the idolatrous and corrupt principles and practices of the Church of Rome with respect to the blessed Virgin Mary and to other Saints, but I may just say that a practice more subversive of all true religion, more unscriptural and uncatholic, that is more inconsistent with the usages of the Church in its earliest and best ages, cannot be named.

“Of her substance.” The force of this expression lies in its contrast with the expression lately used with respect to our Lord’s Divine nature—“of one substance with the Father” as God ; of the substance of the Virgin Mary as Man, both indicating the perfect participation of the one Christ in each nature respectively. The phrase may not admit of direct scriptural proofs ; but no such proof is required in this case any more than in that of any ordinary human being. The relation intended is implied in the correlative terms, “Son” and “mother.” The whole question is whether we believe Christ to have been born of the Virgin Mary ; for if born of her, then “of her substance.”

Passages bearing on this point are, Isaiah vii. 14 ; Rom. ix. 5 ; Gal. iv. 4 ; Phil. ii. 7 ; Hebrews ii. 14 ; 1 St. John iv. 3.

It being established, then, that the Son, which is the Word of the Father—the Son, we must notice, being the subject throughout the Article,—“took man’s nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance,” it remains

¹ St. Luke i. 31.

that we place this truth in connexion with the truth previously established respecting His Divinity. Both are truths, and therefore both must be reconcilable together—of course not intellectually, but by faith; and the way to treat them so as to avoid the danger of losing some portion of truth is so to predicate the one truth in Christ's Person as not to exclude the other: not to predicate Divinity alone, nor humanity alone, but Divinity and humanity united; and further, not to confound the two natures, the Godhead and the manhood together, or to suppose them melted, as it were, into one; but to maintain that each nature is in itself whole and perfect, though indissolubly united one with the other; and again, as Christ is one Person in the blessed Trinity, we must so enunciate the two natures as not to divide His Person,—we must not say He is a human Person in one sense, and a Divine Person in another, but that He is one Person, at once God and man; that from the time of His incarnation He became so, and that He will from thenceforth remain so for ever. In other words, the combined results of the separate proofs for each distinct nature predicated severally of the same Word, is that “two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man.”

II. 1. γ . Here again, as elsewhere, we must take the terms employed as but compendious expressions for very complex scriptural truths. So long as we use them, we are quite assured that we let no portion of the truth escape us; if we forsake them, or explain any of them away, we fall partially into error. Experience has shown this in all ages of the Church; and as often as the experiment is repeated, so often error will, consciously or unconsciously, be entertained. And here, by way of illustrating my meaning, I am led to say a few words on the opposite classes of error, to which the man who deserts the scriptural teaching of the Church is exposed. I am rather anticipating my intention to give somewhere in the course of these Lectures a succinct account of the principal heresies of the early Church. I rather prefer in general waiting till you are prepared, by a knowledge of the truth in general, to appreciate the bearings of error. But in the present case it will conduce to clearness if I allude to the two opposite errors, the heresy of Nestorius and that of Eutyches.

The Nestorian heresy appeared rather before 430—Nestorius was patriarch of Constantinople,—and was condemned at Ephesus A.D. 431. The substance of this heresy was to

divide the manhood of our Lord from the Godhead, so as, in fact, to make two Persons, or two Christs. Against this heresy, then, the Article has expressly "in one Person," and again, "one Christ."

In order to avoid this heresy Eutyches, an abbot at Constantinople, fell into an opposite one. Seeing that Nestorius had corrupted the received doctrine of the two Natures into the heresy of two Persons, he denied one of the two Natures, that is, the human. He denied that Christ had really taken flesh of the Virgin's substance; and said that Christ's body descended from heaven, and only seemed to be born of the Virgin. This heresy was condemned in the fourth Œcumenical Council, Chalcedon, A.D. 451. And you will at once see the words of our Article which are intended to meet it. I may as well take this opportunity to remark that the voice of these two Councils has been adopted and re-echoed in every age and by all the orthodox writers of the Church.

And now, turning to the scriptural proofs upon which, be it observed, the Church has founded her judgment, we find it said of the same one Person that He existed before Abraham, and yet that He was the seed of Abraham—compare St. John viii. 58, St. Matt. i. 1; again, of the same one Person, that He was the Lord of David, and yet his Son—St. Matt. xxii. 45, Acts ii. 34, Psalm cx. 1; again, that all things were made by Him, and yet that He was compassed with infirmity—St. John i. 3, or Col. i. 16, Hebrews v. 2; again, the Church is said to be the Church of God, and of the self-same Person it is said that He purchased it with His own blood—Acts xx. 28; again, of the same Person, that He knoweth all things—St. John xvi. 30; that all the world must stand at His judgment-seat—2 Cor. v. 10; and yet that He was ignorant when His judgment should take place—St. Mark xiii. 32. Lastly, it is one and the self-same Person who uses these words (Rev. i. 17, 18), "Fear not; I am the first and the last: I am He that liveth and was dead, and, behold, I am alive for evermore."

All these seeming contradictions—which, if we have indeed the true Word of God, cannot be real ones—it is impossible to reconcile except upon the orthodox statement that the Divine and human natures are joined together in one Person. And now remember that here, as elsewhere, I have given you only specimens of the proofs which Scripture can furnish. The whole history of our blessed Lord is only to be explained upon the same principle as I have indicated by a comparison of the above texts.

“Never to be divided,” “*inseparabiliter coniunctae*.” This is one of those negative expressions, the force of which has been explained in previous Lectures. The object here is not to be too curious in such mysteries, but to approach by negative terms as near as we can to positive truths. There is not the smallest hint in Scripture that these two distinct yet united natures will ever be disunited. So that as no separation is hinted at, and uninterrupted continuance of the union is implied to the utmost verge of the future to which prophecy would lead us, we can come to no other conclusion. The Scriptures enable us to know for certain that the union continues in reference to distinct periods. 1st, There cannot be the smallest doubt that it continued between our Saviour’s resurrection and His ascension, as is shown by the story of St. Thomas,¹ and by the other infallible truth² of the resurrection of our Lord’s still human though glorified body. 2^d, There can be no doubt that He ascended with the same body,³ as we shall again have to show in Art. iv.; but if with the same body, then with the same human nature united to the Divine. 3^d, The angel who appeared to the eleven whilst they looked steadfastly toward heaven as He went up, said, “This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven,” Acts i. 11. Therefore when He returns to judgment He will have the same body, *i.e.* the same human but glorified nature; a conclusion which tallies with that declaration in Zech. xii. 10, “And they shall look upon Me whom they pierced,” compared with Rev. i. 7, “Behold, He cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see Him, and they also which pierced Him,”—two texts which imply our future recognition of the wounded but glorified body of our Lord. The same truth as to the inseparable union of the two natures may be inferred from the title given to our Lord in His glorified state, *i.e.* the Lamb; a name which clearly alludes to that part of His person in which the sacrifice was completed as a continuing characteristic for ever. Rev. v. 13: “Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever.” From all these considerations we infer, then, “never to be divided”—and thus we have considered in detail the third main division

¹ St. John xx. 27. Observe, too, the general proofs offered a week before to all the other apostles: St. Luke xxiv. 37-39; St. John xx. 20.

² *e.g.* Eating and drinking with them: St. John xxi. 5, 6, 12; St. Luke xxiv. 41-43; Acts x. 41.

³ Acts i.; St. Luke xxiv. 50, 51.

of the first sentence, II. 1. γ ,—that is, our Lord's Person as it was and will be after assuming the manhood—and so we conclude with respect to Christ's whole Person.

We have dwelt on this subject at length, in consequence of its extreme importance. If there is any Christian truth which I would desire my hearers to hold fast, it is, next to and connected with the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, the doctrine of one Person, two Natures. These are the two points on which “before all things it is necessary to hold the Catholic faith;” these two doctrines, the Trinity and the Incarnation, being those which are most prominently brought forward in the Athanasian Creed. If there were time, I should impress upon you some practical deductions from this doctrine, which I shall only hint at: 1. The greatness of that ruin which could make such an union of natures necessary. 2. The infinite love of God towards fallen man. 3. The sacred duty of sanctifying that nature which the Word of God ennobled by taking it upon Himself; the ingratitude as well as the hazard of debasing the nature of which He is and ever will be a partaker, by sensuality,¹ or by any other kind of sin done in the body. These considerations would serve to convince us of the tremendous import of those words, “that every man may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad,”² as connected with that perfect manhood which Christ ennobled by taking of the manhood into God.

II. 2. Having thus far said all that is necessary respecting the Person of Christ, we now come to His Office; and that office, in the first place, was the office of a Sufferer,—and by virtue of those sufferings a Redeemer,—which accordingly is the subject-matter of the last sentence of Article II.

We shall divide this sentence into two parts,—the first part relating to His office as a Sufferer, II. 2. α ; and the second part, II. 2. β , to the connected and indeed inseparable office as our Redeemer: the first to the sufferings as a fact; the second to the final cause or object of those sufferings, *i.e.* the atonement or reconciliation of fallen man to the Father.

Now, on reading the sentence, the first question which arises is, What is the antecedent to the relative “who”? There can be no doubt, though it may be well to state it explicitly, that it is the Person of whom we have said so much,—“One Christ, very God and very man.” Substitute this, then, as the subject in the sentence, for the pronoun,

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 15.

² 2 Cor. v. 10.

and it will run thus :—"One Christ, very God and very man, suffered." The one person, thus, as aforesaid, uniting the two unconfounded natures, the Godhead and the Manhood, "suffered." "The Word," which was in the beginning, which was with God, and which was God, and which became flesh, did "suffer." And so it is said, 1 Cor. ii. 8, "The princes of this world did crucify the Lord of glory;" and, Acts xx. 28, "God purchased His Church with His own blood." And here we shall see the great value of what we have before laid so much stress upon,—the two unconfounded natures in the one Person. For while we say that the Person suffering was as to the one nature God, we must be careful to add that He did not suffer in His Divine nature, but in His human nature; for the Divine nature is, as we have seen, "*impassibilis*." You will remember the heresy of the Patripassians. The first point to be believed then is, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Himself very God and very man, suffered in His human nature; and this is established on the principles formerly laid down.

The next point to be observed of the reading is, that the main stress must be laid on the word "truly," which must be repeated before each verb; *i.e.* the design of the Article is to teach us to consider the Passion, Crucifixion, Death, and Burial of our Lord as facts,¹ not merely figurative of facts, not mere appearances, or only seeming occurrences, according to the early heresy of the *Δοκηταί, φαντασιασταί*, or the views of Simon Magus or Mahomet. Now, as a general proof of these facts, it is sufficient to show, as we have done, that Christ had a real natural human body and soul, of the substance of His mother. No one ever doubted of His sufferings who did not doubt the reality of His body. And if He had indeed a real human body and soul, then the causes which would affect other human beings must also have affected Him. What would cause us suffering must have caused Him suffering in like manner. The scourging, the crown of thorns, the thirst, the sorrow of mind, must have excited in Him the same feelings of pain as in any one of ourselves.

If, then, the human nature of Christ truly suffered, we shall but arrive at the knowledge of what His sufferings were by considering that human nature or perfect manhood in regard to its two constituent parts, the body and the soul;

¹ It becomes more and more necessary to insist on this, because of the newly invented heresy of the Idealists, represented and justified by Mr. Wilson in Essays and Reviews. According to his view, it is perfectly immaterial whether we receive the fact as a fact, or merely conceive of it as an idea.

and this division, as applicable to our Lord, is strictly scriptural, in accordance with which it is said of Him in the Athanasian Creed, that He is "of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting."

And here we must explain what is meant by the word "suffering." Bishop Pearson tells us that this word, now used as a general description of the Passion, was in the most ancient Creeds no way distinguished from His Crucifixion, for as we say "suffered and was crucified," they only say "crucified under Pontius Pilate;" nor again, with respect to the subsequent word "died," was His crucifixion distinguished from His death; but when we read "crucified, dead, and buried," they only "crucified and buried." Because the chief of His sufferings was on the Cross, and He gave up the ghost there, therefore His whole passion and His death were comprehended in His crucifixion. But again, being He suffered not only on the cross, being it was possible He might have been affixed to that cursed tree and yet not have died, therefore the Church thought fit to add the rest of His sufferings, as antecedent, His death as consequent to His crucifixion.¹

The assertion that He suffered, then, we now understand to include the attendant circumstances of His crucifixion as well as the act itself, and not only the bodily sufferings, but those of His soul also. In one sense, indeed, His whole life was a scene of suffering. He was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; but we mean His special sorrows at that time, His scourging, His crown of thorns, the tearing of His hands and His feet by the nails, the mere position of hanging on the cross: these the bodily pains—for all these facts it is superfluous to allege texts; and for the soul, all the circumstances of His agony, as evidenced by the expressions used concerning it: "He began to be sorrowful," saith St. Matthew, xxvi. 37; "to be sore amazed," saith St. Mark, xiv. 33; and "to be very heavy," as both the Evangelists; and again, that sense of abandonment which drew forth, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" therefore an evidence of suffering of soul; and the cause of that suffering is sufficiently apparent in that "the Lord laid on Him the iniquity of us all," *i.e.* doubtless the sum of the transgressions of so many millions in whose stead He suffered, carrying their sins.

"Was truly crucified," "*crucifixus*," "nailed to the cross." Now it is surely superfluous to set about to prove this—it

¹ Pearson on the Creed, Article iv. *sub in*.

would be after all nothing but the recital of facts which are known to us all familiarly, nay, which were even known to the heathen historians; not only related in the Gospel history, but constantly referred to as fundamental acknowledged facts throughout the New Testament, typified and predicted in the Old Testament, and the characteristic peculiarity of the religion we profess both in the eyes of its friends and its enemies, alleged as a reproach by those who stumble at the cross of Christ, and admitted as the highest distinctive mark of Christianity¹ by those who "glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," Gal. vi. I may just mention that the Cross, or the Crucifixion, are mentioned at least twenty-two times in those parts of the New Testament which are exclusive of the Gospels properly so called.

It is superfluous again to do more than allude to the types,—to Isaac bearing the wood, to the fiery serpent, to the mode in which the Paschal lamb was roasted, according to Justin Martyr: καὶ τὸ κελυσθέν πρόβατον ἐκείνο ὁπτόν ὄλον γίνεσθαι, τοῦ πάθους τοῦ σταυροῦ δι' οὗ πάσχειν ἔμελλεν ὁ Χριστὸς σύμβολον ἦν. τὸ γὰρ ὁπτώμενον πρόβατον, σχηματιζόμενον ὁμοίως τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ ὁπτᾶται. εἰς γὰρ ὄρθιος (straight up) ὀβελίσκος διαπερονᾶται (passed like a pin or tongue of a buckle) ἀπὸ τῶν κατωτάτω μερῶν μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ εἰς πάλιν κατὰ τὸ μετάφρενον (part between the shoulder-blades) ᾧ προσαρτῶνται καὶ αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ προβάτου,² or again equally superfluous to allude to the prophecies, such as "They shall look upon Him whom they pierced;" "They pierced my hands and my feet;" "I may tell (*i.e.* count) all my bones," etc., in a word, the whole Twenty-second Psalm. These special predictions of the mode and circumstances of our Lord's death, as well as the general terms in which the Prophet speaks of His sufferings, are, I am sure, familiar to you all. And thus much for the reality of our Lord's crucifixion.

Again, the one Christ was truly dead—His sufferings really terminated in death; not in syncope or apparent death, but in real dissolution. It was possible, doubtless, that a man might suffer the torture of crucifixion to a certain extent, and yet by great medical skill and care, and by length of time, be recovered—such skill and care and time being negatived by the facts of the case: taken only the single fact that the body was left to itself in the grave, and that there was no time for the cares and remedies to be applied, so that He should be able to be seen alive on the third day.

¹ As, for example, in the Baptismal Office, "and do sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token that he shall not be ashamed."

² Justin Mart. Dial. c. Tryph. p. 13 (ed. Ben.)

It was possible that our Lord might have listened to the insulting cry of His murderers to "save Himself," and "come down from the cross;" He might have come down thence, and "in saving Himself," as Pearson says, "have never saved us." But the facts are all against this. The death of the Messiah was typified and predicted—and it exactly came to pass. The New Testament constantly affirms it, beginning with that expression, He "gave up the ghost," down to the declaration in the Apocalypse, "I am He that liveth and was dead."¹

"Was truly buried." This again was in accordance with the ancient types and prophecies, as of Jonah in the whale's belly, and in Psalm xvi. 9, 10, "My flesh shall rest in hope, for thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption"—a clear allusion to the rest of the body in the grave when the soul is in Hades, and yet not there long enough to see corruption. Again, Isaiah liii., "He made His grave with the wicked, and with the rich in His death."

As to the history, illustration, or otherwise, of these prophecies, nothing can be more definite and precise. The circumstances are, of course, familiar to you all. Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus (St. John xix. 28), the embalming, the stone, the sealing, the watch—all devices of His enemies in order to prove Him dead. The burial of Christ, then, is most circumstantially related; and, moreover, like the sufferings, crucifixion, and death, made, as acknowledged fact, the groundwork of spiritual advice and persuasion by later writers in New Testament; see, for instance, Rom. vi. 4 and 1 Cor. xi. 26.

I will mention one remarkable circumstance. The law of the Romans was to leave the bodies of crucified persons to be devoured by the fowls of the air. If this law had been acted upon, our Lord would not have been buried. How, then, was this guarded against by God's Providence? By a special law of Moses, fifteen hundred years before: "If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him upon a tree: his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day,"² and thus the general law of Rome was superseded by the special provision of Moses; and Pilate, who had so long hesitated before he consented to His death,

¹ The reality of His death is graphically set forth by Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. vi. pp. 375, 6 (ed. 1857).

² Deut. xxi. 22, 23.

had no scruple in disregarding the Roman custom at the request of the people, who in his own judgment had unjustly crucified him. And thus we have considered the whole sentence, II. 2. *α*,—"who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried;" and we now come to II. 2. *β*, rather anticipating Article XI., on Justification, when the final cause of all this, the taking of humanity and the suffering in it, is assigned: to reconcile, *ut reconciliaret*, the Father; or, as the Nicene Creed expresses it, "who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate."

"*Ut Patrem nobis reconciliaret.*" The first thing which strikes us in this sentence is, that there is a slight variation between the language used here and that used in Holy Scripture. Here it is "to reconcile the Father to us;" in certain passages in the Bible the expression is, "reconcile us to the Father."¹ The Socinians, who deny the atonement or reconciliation by Christ's blood,—that is, who deny that God's wrath is removed by our Saviour's death—who deny that there was any necessity for a propitiatory sacrifice, or that God had need to be reconciled to us,—“Man,” say they, “was at enmity with God, not God with man; He had no wrath towards man,”—have attempted to show that the only meaning of such passages is, not that God was made propitious to us, but that we were brought back to love God. But, 1st, their gratuitous assumption that there is no such thing as God's wrath towards men is negatived by such passages as the following, in which “God's wrath,” present and future, is expressly denounced against sinful men—I pass over the innumerable instances in the Old Testament:—St. John iii. 36; Rom. i. 18, v. 9; Eph. ii. 3, v. 6; 1 Thess. i. 10; Heb. x. 26, 27; Rev. vi. 16, 17; and in the Revelation the wrath of God is expressly named six times; therefore there is wrath to be removed. 2dly, Look to the types. The Jewish sacrifices were expressly appointed in order to deliver from God's wrath so revealed, Lev. iv. and v.; and there are repeated instances where God's wrath was so removed, Numb. xvi. 46, 50; so that the whole analogy of the Law leads to the moral certainty that there should in the Gospel be some general mode of removing God's wrath.

¹ See Rom. v. 10; Eph. ii. 16; Col. i. 20; 2 Cor. v. 18, 19: τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς. Ὡς ὅτι Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσειν ἐαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, καὶ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς, where the words in spaced type fix the meaning of καταλλαγῆς.

And indeed it is clearly shown by Bishop Pearson¹ that there is no such difference as that pretended in the two forms of expression, and that the texts we quoted for reconciliation do prove this great Christian truth of the atonement,—that is, God being propitiated to us by the blood of His Son. Let us now examine the passages where ἱλάσκομαι² (St. Luke xviii. 13; Heb. ii. 17), ἱλασμός³ (1 John ii. 2, iv. 10), ἱλεως⁴ (St. Matt. xvi. 22; Heb. viii. 12), ἱλαστήριον⁵ (Rom. iii. 23; Heb. ix. 5) occur. The general result is the doctrine of “God’s forgiveness of man’s sin for Christ’s sake.” See also Matt. xxvi. 28; Eph. i. 7.

“*Essetque hostia*” is only a further explanation of the preceding phrase, distinctly stating Him to be a victim personally sacrificed like other victims. ἱλασμός means *hostia*. Types are found in the Paschal lamb (St. John i. 29-36; Acts viii. 32; 1 St. Pet. i. 19; Rev. v. 6, 12, vii. 14, xii. 11, xiii. 8) and in Isaac. Prophecy, in Isa. liii., compared with Acts viii. 32; St. John i. 29; 1 Cor. v. 7; 1 St. Pet. i. 19.

“Not only for original sin” may more conveniently be treated under Article ix.

“But also for all actual sins of men”; all sin, original and actual, 1 St. John ii. 2, i. 7; all iniquity, Titus ii. 14; “alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works; yet now reconciled:” Col. i. 20, 21, 22. This last quotation is a compendious statement of the whole truth.

¹ On the Creed, Art. x. pp. 639-640.

² ἱλάσκομαι, ἱλάομαι, in Homer are always used of propitiating the gods: e.g. Ἐκδέργον ἱλάσκεσθαι, ταύροις, μολπῇ, by bulls, by song, Il. i. 472, ii. 550. In the Septuagint, the passive is used in the sense of “to forgive,” Exod. xxxii. 13; Dan. ix. 19; Ps. xxiv. 11, lxiv. 3, lxxvii. 38.

³ ἱλασμός may be translated “sacrifice,” “sin-offering.” It is found in Ezek. xliv. 27: προσοίσουσιν ἱλασμόν.

⁴ ἱλεως sub. γένου, as an adjectival form for ἱλαος is common in the Septuagint.

⁵ ἱλαστήριον, the mercy-seat: *operculum*.

ARTICLE III.

ARTICULUS III.

De descensu Christi ad inferos.

QUEMADMODUM *Christus pro nobis mortuus est, et sepultus, ita est etiam credendus ad inferos descendisse,*

ARTICLE III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As *Christ died for us, and was buried, so also it is to be believed, that He went down into Hell.*

IN the Confession of Augsburg this Article is incorporated into the Article *De filio Dei*.

In the edition of 1552 there was an additional clause both in Latin and English: "Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro iacuit, spiritus ab illo emissus, cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in inferno detinebantur fuit, illisque predicavit: quemadmodum testatur Petri locus."

The descent into hell was not anciently or universally in the Creed. I do not say it was not believed; but it was not in the Creed. Pearson says that it is first found in the Creed of Aquileia, A.D. 400,¹ But this statement must be modified. Writers since Pearson have shown that it was received—according to Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. i. 13, in 315—into the Creed of the Syrian Church of Edessa, said to have been handed down from Thaddæus, one of the seventy disciples, who it is stated rehearsed the clause in its place in the Creed to Abgarus, king of Edessa; therefore it formed a part of the elementary teaching of very early times. Epiphanius also, 368, names this Article. We must therefore modify Pearson's statement, and say that the first Western Church which formally received it was that of Aquileia. It had been meantime alluded to by writers in their private capacities as an acknowledged tenet: *e.g.* St. Ignatius, A.D. 67, ad Trall. καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς "Αἶδου μόνος, ἀνῆλθε δὲ κατὰ πλήθους; St. Irenæus, 184; Tertull., 198; Clem. Alex., 204; Cyprian, 250; Athan., 325; Hil. Pictav., 354; Macarius, 373; Ambrose,

¹ See Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 26, 136.

374, "*in Abyss*o;"¹ St. Basil, 370; St. Jerome 378; August., 396.²

The proof of this Article we shall come to presently. Its meaning is not so easily agreed upon. I might, of course, enter on all the various opinions which have been held on the subject, but this would be unnecessary for most of my hearers, and I shall content myself with what appears to me the right view, upheld by Bishop Pearson, merely glancing at errors.

First, then, the object of the Article is to illustrate, as the Fathers did, the perfect humanity of Christ, to assert of Him what is true of every human being, that the soul of Christ, being one constituent part of His nature, was separated from His body, as is the case of all who die, and conveyed itself, descended—the word marking self-originated motion,—into some place which, in the absence of a more definite word, the Church has designated by the scriptural word, the word used in the Bible, Acts ii., in speaking of this very doctrine, the word *Hell*.

The meaning of the word *Hell*, attached to it by our Church—not the popular sense,—may be ascertained by the meaning of the term in the Latin edition of the Articles, "*descendit ad Inferos*." This—"the inhabitants of hell,"—corresponds to the word "*Inferna*," the place, used in the Aquileian Creed, and continued in the Latin Creeds. In Greek it is either *εἰς Ἀιδου*, after Acts ii. 27, or *εἰς τὰ κατώτατα*, to the lower regions,—strictly speaking, perhaps, the word "*inferi*" may be equivalent to *ἐνεροι*, and this by some is thus analysed, *ἐν ἔργῳ*, *i.e.* *γῆ*.³ This would bring us to the notion, so generally entertained amongst mankind, that "the receptacle of departed spirits" is "below the earth." With the truth or falsehood of that supposed subterranean locality we have no concern. The object in adopting such words in Holy Scripture or in theology, is not the giving authority to any philosophical or popular theory, but in order that the thing intended may be popularly understood.

Now what would be understood by "*ad inferos*," or *εἰς Ἀιδου*? Nothing else but the inhabitants of the "*Inferna*," that receptacle for disembodied spirits, whatever or wherever it may be, which the circumstances of the case seem to every

¹ Ambros. de Incarn., c. 5.

² These authorities are alleged by Beveridge *ad loc.*, but the passage which he quotes as from St. Athanasius (de duabus Christi naturis, vol. ii. 567) is not from his genuine works.

³ Others derive it from *ἐνεργ*, a supposed word, formed like *ἐνέργ*.

one who has ever seen a dead body, and who believes in a future existence, or, *a fortiori*, the resurrection of the body, to pre-suppose. The corpse is not the man, although, as destined to be again united to the soul, entitled to all respect; the soul is not there, but it is gone somewhere,—in the terms of Latin mythology, “*tenués in auras*,” in those of Greek, *αἰδὶ προΐαψεν*, in Christian phraseology, “the spirit shall return to Him that gave it,”¹—to abide God’s pleasure till it shall please Him to re-unite the two constituent parts of the human being at the resurrection; and that *somewhere* the Latins term “*inferna*,” the Greeks, borrowing a heathen expression, *εἰς Ἀϊδου*, which we must remember that the classical writers contradistinguish from Tartarus; the Hebrews *הַיָּם* (Sept. *הַדֵּשׁ*); English, from our Saxon ancestors, “*Hell*.” One Anglo-Saxon creed has, “He nither (*nieder*) astah to Hel-warum,” *i.e.* to the inhabitants of Hell.²

With respect to the English Hell, the original meaning of the word *Hölle* (Germ.) is “any hollow dark place;” so that it signifies the place of souls, without any reference to their future destiny of reward or punishment. The sense of a place of punishment, though it has now superseded the other, was the last sense affixed to it. Bishop Beveridge is greatly mistaken in his opinion that at the time of the compilation of our Articles the word “*Hell*” meant only the place of punishment. The word in its primary sense had been handed down in the ancient English creeds.

The meaning of our Church, then, is that the “*Descent into Hell*,” into this receptacle of disembodied spirits, is predicable of Christ, as something analogous to it is of every human being. Descent signifies voluntary self-originated motion or actual self-translation, not of his body “which was in the grave, and incapable so long of voluntary motion, but of the soul, that part of humanity which continues in some sort active after death.”³ Our Church wisely avoids entering into particulars, and does not even say anything of the soul; yet as the descent is distinguished from the burial, and as the burial happened to the body, so the descent happened to the soul; the descent was an event which occurred between the burial and the resurrection.

I speak of our own Church, and of those Creeds which assert both the burial and the descent. The Aquileian Creed

¹ Eccles. xii. 7.

² See Heurtley, *Harm. Symbol*, p. 102.

³ These words are taken from Bishop Horsley, who adds, “The dead body could no more move itself into hell, than the living soul could be laid in the grave.”

says, "crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, descendit ad inferna;" and so our Athanasian Creed, "who suffered for our salvation, descended into Hell"—both omitting "burial." The Nicene Creed, *per contra*, omits the "descent."

The point to be proved, then, is embodied in a single proposition, "The soul of Christ went into the ordinary receptacle of departed human souls."

And first, there is an intimation of this truth in these words addressed upon the cross to the penitent thief, "Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."¹ Paradise was certainly some place where our Lord was to be on the very day on which He suffered, and where the companion of His sufferings was to be with Him. It was not heaven, for our Lord did not ascend into heaven till after His resurrection, as appears from His own words to Mary Magdalene. He was not, therefore, in heaven on the day of the crucifixion, nor, of consequence, was the penitent. It was no place of torment, for paradise is a term never so employed. It was, therefore, a place of repose, where the souls of the righteous abide in joyful hope of the resurrection; and remember that there is nothing inconsistent with the word "Paradise" in the first and proper meaning of the word "Hell." St. Augustine expressly states this in Epist. ad Dardanum: "To-day shalt thou be with me in that part of the place of spirits which is appropriated to the blessed but not yet consummated souls of the just."

But the principal text, and that on which every one relies, is Acts ii. 25-31, read together with Psalm xvi. 8-10. These words of David, then, were not spoken of himself, but of Christ, that "His soul was not left in Hell at His resurrection." The truth of the Article, then, is infallibly proved by this text. The proposition is, "The soul of Christ was in Hell between His death and His resurrection." If the soul of Christ was not left there at His resurrection, then it was in Hell before His resurrection. To say that it was not left there is equivalent to saying that it might have been left there; and from that we infer that it was there. *E.g.*: If we were to say that such a man—Peter, for instance—was not left in prison, we infer that there was a time when he was in prison. But the soul of Christ was not there before His death, or after His resurrection; for that was never imagined by any one; therefore it descended into Hell after His death and before His resurrection—between the two—for whilst His body saw no corruption, though laid in the place of cor-

¹ St. Luke xxiii. 44.

ruption, so His soul was in Hell, though not left there, but re-united to His body when He arose. This proof is so logical and plain that, as St. Augustine says, none but an infidel can deny it.¹

Besides this, which is quite sufficient, two other passages are sometimes alleged in proof of this Article.

Eph. iv. 8: Here the Apostle applies a passage in Ps. lxviii. as prophetic of the various gifts which Christ after His ascension conferred on the Church. There are different opinions as to the relevancy of the text, some, as Bishop Pearson, *con*; others, as Horsley, *pro*;—the whole controversy turning upon the words “lower parts of the earth,” which Pearson says means “the earth itself as distinguished from heaven;” Horsley, “hell,”—in the sense defined—relying on the term τὰ κατώτερα, which is, as you will remember, nearly the same as the equivalent introduced into the Greek creeds for the word “Hell.”

There remains one text of extreme difficulty, which is chiefly remarkable to us as it respects the first edition of the Articles—the 42—in 1552. This shows that in the view of the original compilers the passage in 1 St. Peter iii. 18 was supposed to bear upon this Article. Now it is the opinion of Bishop Horsley, no mean authority, that the passage is relevant, and that it means only that the soul of Christ went to the place of spirits, and announced the facts of the Gospel to the souls confined, not in the place of punishment, but in the place of expectation. I confess his reasoning does not satisfy me, and I rather adopt the opinion of Pearson and other great divines, that the passage refers to some other mystery. At all events, the framers of the last two editions of the Articles saw reason to doubt the applicability of the passage—otherwise they would not have left it out. It appears that the authority which chiefly weighed with them was the decided opinion of St. Augustine that St. Peter does not apply to Christ's descent into Hell. It results then that Acts ii. 25 is the text chiefly to be relied upon; sufficient in itself, but of course strengthened in proportion as either of the two other texts shall be considered applicable, the opinion *pro* or *con* varying according to the bent of different minds.

I will only add that the truth stated in this Article, and proved as above, has nothing to do with the Romish doctrine of Purgatory—see Article XXII. All that is required in Article III. to believe is, that there is an intermediate condi-

¹ Epist. ad Euodium, clxiv. c. ii. 3.

tion in which the souls of men are awaiting their final doom, whether of happiness or of misery. But this all proceeds upon the catholic and scriptural truth, that the moment of death decides their fate—that there is no expiation in the grave for sins either venial or mortal—that there is no place of suffering for the ultimately blessed, and that the torments of Gehenna, though most likely felt in anticipation by the wicked, do not properly begin before the final sentence in the day of judgment. And this catholic-scriptural belief is directly repugnant to the Romish error. It is sufficient to say that the belief in our Lord's descent was most ancient; whereas Bishop Fisher¹ allows that of Purgatory there was no mention, or extremely rare mention, amongst the ancients, and that in the Greek Church "*ad hunc usque diem*," the doctrine of Purgatory is not believed.

¹ "*Nemo certe jam dubitat orthodoxus an purgatorium sit, de quo tamen apud priscos illos nulla vel quam rarissima fiebat mentio. Sed et Graecis ad hunc usque diem non est creditum purgatorium.*"—J. Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio*, Art. 18, p. 111.

ARTICLE IV.

ARTICULUS IV.

De Resurrectione Christi.

CHRISTUS vere a mortuis resurrexit, suumque corpus cum carne, ossibus, omnibusque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus, recepit: cum quibus in coelum ascendit, ibique residet, quoad, extremo die, ad iudicandos homines reversurus sit.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

CHRIST did truly rise again from death, and took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature; wherewith He ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

IT is not necessary to point out to you the extreme importance of this Article: in truth its importance is acknowledged to be of so primary a nature, that I shall have less occasion to dwell on the Article itself. But for this confirmation of the Victory of the Cross, I will only say, our faith would be in vain. As St. Paul says, "If Christ be not raised, ye are yet in your sins."¹ And considering the vital nature of the doctrine which it contains, we have great cause for gratitude that the evidence on which it rests is so ample.

As compared with the form of 1552, the final revision of this Article shows only verbal differences. In the English version the word "*all*" is added, in the Latin "*reversurus sit*" is substituted for "*revertatur*:" while the original headings were respectively "The Resurrection of CHRIST," and "Resurrectio CHRISTI."

The Article may be divided into four parts:

1. The Resurrection,
2. The Ascension,
3. The Session,
4. The Return to Judgment:

and with respect to each and all of these four parts, it is to be held that He rose with a true human body, ascended with the same, sits at God's right hand with the same, and will return to judge the world with the same.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 17.

Some of the conclusions in this Article, as to the continuance of the manhood in Christ, were anticipated in the second Article, when we spoke of the two natures as “inseparabiliter coniunctae.”

Now the first thing to be observed on the subject of the Resurrection is, that we are not arguing with Infidels. The Articles were intended, not to confute unbelievers external to the Church, but to “avoid diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion.”¹ Hence it results that a different method must be observed in these Lectures, from what would be adopted in proving the Resurrection against Jews and Heathens. This country, particularly during the last century, when infidelity was more in fashion than happily it is now, is distinguished for the number and power of the writers who stood up in defence of this capital article of our faith. You will have already read, and I hope mastered, some of these—such as Paley and Butler. These works are of use when we are arguing against those who deny a Revelation. But an Article, as such (though Burnet seems to have forgotten it), is not against infidels, but against such Christians as, allowing the Divine authority of the Holy Books, interpret them differently from ourselves. I say *as such*, for in framing the Articles it is difficult to avoid confuting infidels as well as heretics.

Now the heretics whom the Article had most in view are the Docetae before alluded to. Our reformers were well aware of the early heresies of the Christian Church; and they were aware likewise of the many elements of heresy, which a sudden emancipation from the tyranny of Rome would be likely to set in motion. Many persons have since held the principles of the Docetae; those, for instance, who allegorize all the facts of Revelation: or such as Schwenkfeld, in the sixteenth century, who denied that Christ was a real man after His resurrection; and whose followers are still extant in Silesia.

But even apart from these errors, it is necessary to teach positive truth. If no such heresy had ever existed, it would be necessary to teach that Christ truly and not metaphorically rose, and resumed His human body. The corresponding heresy, here and elsewhere, may teach us the value and the bearing of the positive truth, but the positive truth is of infinite value for its own sake.

It has been very usual for writers on the subject to mix

¹ Preface to the Articles, 1571.

up the question of Christ's Resurrection with the general Resurrection; yet though connected, inasmuch as our bodies will rise again because Christ's body first rose, yet they may be better treated apart, as indeed they are in the Creed.

The result of all our remarks on the two preceding Articles is that Christ truly in all things assumed our human nature; but the human nature which He assumed was not always in the same condition. There was a state of humiliation, and a state of glorification; and again there were three modifications or forms of humiliation, and three degrees of exaltation: 1. Death, 2. Burial, 3. Descent into Hell; on the other hand, 1. Resurrection, 2. Ascension, 3. Session. After death the human body of Christ was laid in the grave; his human soul descended into hell. At the resurrection the two constituent parts of the human nature were reunited. The separation of the human soul from the human body, giving up the ghost, placed the human nature in a state of death; the reunion of the two restored it to a state of life. The scope of the fourth Article then, or this part of it, is that whatever is essential to the constitution of the human nature, without which He could not be man as well as God, that was the Lord invested with after His resurrection, as well as before and during His passion. The difference was that the same human nature was in a different state—in a state of glory after a state of humiliation.

1. To come now to the Resurrection of Christ's body. Christ did *truly* rise: it was no mere phantasm, no mere appearance of His body, but *truly* it did rise again. The stress must be laid on the word "*truly*," and upon the words expressive of Christ's human body.

He "*did rise again*" (not "*was raised again*"), He "*took again*," are expressions indicating the exercise of His sovereign will, and quite inapplicable to any of us: as He said, "Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man (*οὐδεὶς*) taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again."¹

Independently of the narrative in the Gospels we have scriptural proofs that our Lord rose again from the dead, in the election of Matthias "to be a witness of His resurrection,"² in Acts i. 3, ii. 29, 31, compared with Psalm xvi. 9-11; Acts xiii. 30, 37; 1 Cor. xv. 4; while the fact is assumed as the basis of argument, among many other places, in Rom. vi. 4, Col. iii. 1. That He took again His body, with flesh,

¹ St. John x. 17, 18.

² Acts i. 22.

bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, is seen from St. Luke xxiv. 39, St. John xx. 27, Acts x. 40, 41.¹

We have abundant proofs that our Lord took the same body, and that it bore sufficient evidence to the retention of the human nature; though it is likewise evident, without entering into any speculation about it, that some qualities were superadded to it, which do not belong to our human state: such as that, for instance, by which our Lord, when the doors were shut, stood in the midst;² or again vanished out of their sight.³ There was also doubtless something glorified in our Lord's body, which prevented His disciples from always recognising Him at once.⁴ So it is said of our bodies, Christ "shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body."⁵ Flesh and bones are of course implied in our notion of a human organized body, not implying anything gross or sensual, but spiritual realities. They need not be the same things exactly in natural and in spiritual bodies, but there is no reason why we should alter the term.

2. The Ascension. "Wherewith" (*i.e.* with His body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature), "He ascended into heaven."

This again is directed against heretics, such as the Carpocratians and Montanists, who maintained that Christ's soul only ascended into heaven. It is remarkable that the Article in this point speaks in direct contradiction to the so-called Second Council of Nice in 787: (a Council very different from the universally acknowledged First General Council of Nice in 325—this Second Council being infamous in the Church as the one which established the worship of images, and altogether an unsound Council): for that Council condemned the notion that Christ ascended with His flesh, whereas our Article affirms that He took it and ascended with it. If the Council meant only to deny a gross natural flesh (what St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 50 calls "flesh and blood"), they were right; if they denied a spiritual human body, they were clearly wrong. On this point we do not presume to dogmatize, but go to the scriptural proof.

¹ That during the forty days the appearances of our Lord were only occasional, even to His disciples, is probably due to a desire on His part gradually to wean them from His bodily presence, which they were no longer to enjoy.

² St. Luke xxiv. 36.

⁴ St. John xx. 14; xxi. 4.

³ St. Luke xxiv. 31.

⁵ Phil. iii. 21.

In the Gospels the Ascension is recorded by St. Mark xvi. 19, and by St. Luke xxiv. 50. The last passage is especially important from its context, as proving that He ascended with His human body; for He had just eaten a piece of broiled fish and of an honeycomb before them (ver. 43), on purpose to show His humanity: and His last act of all (ver. 50), was lifting up His hands to bless them, and hands necessarily imply flesh and bones. With these passages we may compare Acts i. 9, and Eph. iv. 8: "When He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men."

3. The Session. To this assertion of this Article it is sometimes objected that though Christ is represented by St. Mark (xvi. 19) as *sitting* on the right hand of God, yet in another place (Acts vii. 55) He is seen *standing*. These different postures are referable to the figure Anthropopathia. So when we speak with regard to this point of faith, "that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God,"—we mean by hand that cause in the Supreme Being which by a human being would be produced through the instrumentality of the hand. In like manner, when we speak of sitting, we mean that state of things which would produce sitting in a man; and so of standing. The posture in the latter case may have reference to the special case of St. Stephen, as though (to use the expression of St. Chrysostom), He were manifesting His readiness to succour His martyr.¹

Other passages which may be quoted in support of this doctrine are Acts ii. 34; Eph. i. 20 and ii. 6; Col. iii. 1; Heb. i. 13, compared with Psalm cx.

It is to be noticed that the session at the right hand of the Father implies both government, and also the commencement of Christ's Mediatorship and Intercession.

4. The return to Judgment. The fact of the judgment may be proved from St. Matt. xxv. 31-46; Rom. xiv. 10; 2 Cor. v. 10.

Our Lord is spoken of as *coming* again in Acts i. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 23; 1 Thess. iv. 15.

That *all men* shall be judged is clear from the mention of the "quick and dead" as subject to judgment in Acts x. 42, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 1 Pet. iv. 5.

The occasion shall be "at the last day," when time itself shall be no more.

And now, in conclusion, let me just notice the great

¹ Chrys. Hom. vi. in Ascens: Τί οὖν ἐστὼτα καὶ οὐ καθημένον; ἵνα δείξῃ τὴν ἀντίληψιν τὴν εἰς τὸν μάρτυρα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς λέγεται, "ἀνάστα ὁ θεός." See Trench's Sacred Latin Poetry, Notes, pp. 191, 192.

Christian doctrines of which the truths in this Article are an indispensable condition:—1. The justification of man. Rom. iv. 23-25: “Now, it was not written for his sake alone, that it was imputed to him; but for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on Him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead; who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification.” 2. Our sanctification—St. John xvi. 7; Psalm lxviii. 18, compared with Eph. iv. 11. 3. Christ’s mediation and intercession—Heb. vii. 25. 4. The general resurrection of all men’s bodies at the last day by Christ’s own power: *α.* Of the just—St. John vi. 40; Rom. viii. 11; *β.* Of all—St. John v. 28; Acts xxiv. 14, 15; Rom. viii. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 22 and 53. 5. Our Judgment—Acts xvii. 31. 6. Our eternal enjoyment of the bodily presence of Christ—1 Thess. iv. 17.

ARTICLE V.

ARTICULUS V.

De Spiritu Sancto.

SPIRITUS Sanctus, a Patre et Filio procedens, eiusdem est cum Patre et Filio essentiae, maiestatis, et gloriae, verus ac aeternus Deus.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghost.

THE Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

HAVING now completed those Articles which treat of the nature and office of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, we come to treat (though not at so great length) of the Third Person. It is obvious that, whilst the mystery is equal, equally inscrutable, the relations in which the Holy Ghost has been revealed to us appear to be less complicated than those under which the Son is offered to our faith; and therefore it is that a shorter statement of doctrine is required in the one case than in the other; there being nothing, for instance, in this case analogous to the union between the human and Divine natures. This consideration, perhaps, was what moved the Reformers, in the first edition of the Articles in 1552, following the example of the Augustan Reformers in 1540, to abstain from adding an Article specially devoted to the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, contenting themselves with the statement in the first Article, and in the Creeds, which are virtually comprehended in this Article. However, in the interval it seemed good to our Church, in order to oppose the heresies which were rising on this as on other points, to add an explicit Article, lest it should appear as if less honour were due to the Holy Ghost than to the Son.

The title of the Article is “de Spiritu Sancto.” Now these words “Spirit” and “Holy” must be understood, not as though the Third Person were the only Person in the Trinity who is a Spirit, or who is Holy: but to signify that He is the Spirit which is come into the world, and which

dwells in the hearts of the faithful, and whose title of Holy has peculiar reference to His office of making believers holy; in short, it designates His share in the work of man's restoration, as well as His subsistence as a distinct Person of the Trinity: and inasmuch as it is the name which He has been pleased to give to Himself in His own Scriptures,—in the Scriptures inspired by Himself,—we accept and use it without further discussion, and without even wishing to penetrate all the relations which the name itself may appear to imply.

I say this in reference to many writers of name, who have endeavoured (in my opinion dangerously) to draw certain analogies which may or may not be true, but which tend to confuse rather than to assist our ideas on the subject. We may content ourselves with simply stating the fact, that the word in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which is used to signify the Holy Spirit, is the same which signifies “breath.”

Another name by which the same blessed Person is designated is Παράκλητος,¹ which, though translated “Comforter” in our version, has also been adopted into our own language. It signifies either “a helper,” “*the* helper,” “the one called to our aid,” or else the Comforter, *i.e.* not only He who consoles, but He who strengthens us,—παρακαλέω sometimes meaning to encourage.

The Article may be divided into four propositions, as involved in the words which it contains:—

1. The Holy Ghost is a Person.
2. He proceedeth from the Father.
3. He proceedeth from the Son.
4. The Holy Ghost is of one substance, majesty, and glory with the Father and the Son, and is very and eternal God.

The great stress of proof must rest upon the first proposition, which is implied in the words of this Article, and expressed in those of the First.

Our first assertion is that the Holy Ghost, described to us in the Scriptures, and joined with the Father and the Son in the form of Baptism, is a Person. We are all baptized in the name of three; we all confess that two of these, the

¹ It is noticeable that this term is also applied to Christ in 1 St. John ii. 1, “We have an Advocate (παράκλητον) with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous;” which explains the full force of the expression in St. John xiv. 16, ἄλλον παράκλητον. It is used even of the Father, who is styled in 2 Cor. i. 3, 4, Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν.

Father and the Son, are Persons; therefore, *ex vi terminorum*, we assert that the Holy Ghost, who is the third named of the three, is a Person likewise; and if there were nothing else in the Scriptures, this would be sufficient warrant for the Personality of the Holy Ghost, particularly when to this is added the fact that the same was held from the very beginning; being implied in that form by which, from the beginning, as now, men were made Christians. But there is abundant scriptural evidence besides,—even when we have distinguished between such passages as speak of the Holy Ghost as a Person, and those which might be so construed as to appear by that term only to mean His operations, though these, after all, imply a personal agent. The New Testament describes the Holy Ghost by such personal characteristics, and with such operations, as are as evident signs of a Person as any which are attributed to the Father and the Son. We are exhorted by St. Paul not to grieve the Spirit of God;¹ the Holy Spirit is said to make intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered;² He searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God;³ He worketh all the spiritual gifts, dividing to every man severally as He will.⁴ He is described as speaking: “The Spirit said to Peter, Behold, three men seek thee; arise, therefore, and get thee down, nothing doubting, for I have sent them.”⁵ “The Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.”⁶ He is spoken of as “descending like a dove, and lighting upon Christ”⁷ (which is a passage relating the presence of all the three Persons). There is a special blasphemy against Him which is unpardonable, though all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven (that is, on certain terms) to men.⁸ See also St. John xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7, 8, 13, 14; Acts ii. 33; and Eph. i. 14. The expedient to which Socinians resort in order to elude the force of these scriptural proofs is to consider “the Holy Spirit” to mean only “*virtus Dei*,”⁹ “the emanation” or “the efficacy” of God, “the activity,” and the like.

This is entirely negated by the grammatical considerations already stated; and how untenable it is may be further shown by trying the experiment of substitution, which we employed in respect of “the Word.” Substitute, therefore, the words suggested by our opponents as above in St. Matthew

¹ Eph. iv. 30.⁴ 1 Cor. xii. 11.⁷ St. Matt. iii. 16.² Rom. viii. 26.⁵ Acts x. 19.⁸ St. Matt. xii. 31, 32.³ 1 Cor. ii. 10.⁶ Acts xiii. 2.⁹ See Catech. Racov. c. 6, in Pearson on Art. viii. p. 552 n.

xxviii. 19, "In the name of the Father and of the Son (two Persons), and of the Holy Ghost" (an energy, emanation, etc.), and would it be possible to have a *reductio ad absurdum* more complete? Or take 2 Cor. xiii. 14, is it not absurd to say "The grace of one Person, and the love of a second Person, and the fellowship of an emanation, or efficacy, or energy, be with you all?"

Here, then, we may regard the first proposition of the Fifth Article as sufficiently proved; but we must remember that the whole Article, and its several remaining propositions, if established, not only presuppose this Personality, but help to confirm it.

2. "The Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father." Of course we do not profess to understand or define what the real meaning of procession may be.

That the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father is the express word of Scripture, in St. John xiv. 26, xv. 26; and it is also sufficiently implied in such passages as St. Matt. iii. 16, 1 Cor. vi. 19, Acts v. 9, in which last passage τοῦ Κυρίου cannot mean less than God the Father, and may mean or include God the Son as well.

3. This requires a little explanation. It involves a very remarkable passage in ecclesiastical history, having formed the pretext for the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches. The controversy is generally known as that respecting the words *Filioque* in the later and present editions of the Nicene Creed, as received in the West. The Western or Latin Churches have admitted and still retain the words *Filioque*. The Greeks have ever refused this form; and on that account have been looked upon as heretical by the Western Church. Indeed, this reproach has been mutual. A calm consideration of all the facts will, I think, tend to show that by the exercise of mutual charity, without any compromise of principle, the two Churches might have remained in unity; indeed, it is probable that the schism would not have been completed but for the groundless and uncatholic pretensions set up by the Church of Rome to universal dominion and supremacy; so that these words were rather the occasion than the cause of the quarrel. The facts of the case are briefly these (I must a little anticipate what will be said in commenting on the Eighth Article). The original Nicene Creed, as signed in 325 by the 318 Fathers, with few exceptions, did not at first contain all that it contains now; it stopped short at the words "Holy Ghost," all the remainder being absent (though it is probable that they used as a conclusion the termination of the

Apostles' Creed). In the course of the next sixty years the Creed was modified in various particular Churches, so far as to add some explanations which new errors had made necessary;¹ but still there was (so far as we know) no formal sanction of a Synod for more than the original draft. In the year 381 the Emperor Theodosius convened the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople, amongst other things, against the Macedonian heresy, which impugned the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. In addition to other modifications tending to bring the Creed into the shape in which we now have it, the following words were introduced after the words "Holy Ghost:" "the Lord and Giver of life, proceeding from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets." Here you will observe that the words *Filioque* are not introduced. On account of these additions the generally called Nicene Creed is sometimes called the Constantinopolitan Creed. This Creed was at first generally received in that shape in all Churches, Eastern and Western, but in process of time a controversy arose whether the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father alone, or whether, on the authority of the texts to be hereafter cited, it would not be proper to say that He proceeded also from the Son. The Western Church affirmed this double procession,² the Eastern denied it. The first formal assertion of the Western tenet seems to have taken place at the eighth Council of Toledo, in 653,³ an obscure and not a General Council, at which the words *Filioque* were introduced, but this addition, though admitted into many European Churches, was, curiously enough, disallowed by Pope Leo III. (an instance amongst many others of the pretended unanimity in these infallible Popes), about 783. It was again introduced by Nicolas I., in 858, an addition condemned by Photius, Bishop of Constantinople, in 879, and thenceforward the schism was finally completed; and though there have been some attempts at reconciliation, yet they have led to

¹ Some of the Fathers evidently show that the practice began almost simultaneously with the conclusion of the Council of Nice. Ruffinus of Aquileia, in 380 A.D., in Symb. Apost. Comm. c. 3 in Heurtley's *de Fide et Symbolo*, p. 104:—"Propter nonnullos hæreticos addita quædam videntur, per quæ novellæ doctrinæ sensus crederetur excludi."

² We find this asserted by individual Western theologians, as Ruffinus of Aquileia, who, in his Comm. in Symb. c. 35 (p. 138, Heurtley), uses the expression "Spiritus Sanctus, tanquam de utroque procedens." (There is, however, another reading, noticed by Dr. Heurtley, as confirmed by Venantius Fortunatus, and probable in itself, as suiting better with the "tanquam," viz., "de Dei ore procedens."—J. R. K.)

³ Concil. Toletan. viii. Can. i.

nothing but a temporary hollow truce. On reviewing this account, apart from the error, in which both Churches shared, of quarrelling about a word, when perhaps their orthodox meaning was the same, neither of the Churches appears to be without some justification of their conduct. The Western Church had undoubtedly a right, finding the doctrine, as they did, both in the Scriptures and in some Fathers close upon the Council of Nice, to express their belief in the double procession; and the Eastern had the right of holding to the exact words which had been settled in a General Council, and were not justly liable to be accused of heterodoxy on that account, though they would undoubtedly have guarded their orthodoxy more effectually, when the question was subsequently raised, if they had fallen in with the language of the Western Church; or a fair compromise, without any giving up of principle on either side, might have been effected by the adoption of the Greek form, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, which would have satisfied the main Greek objection to the Latin formula, that it seems to imply two ἀρχαί. It is to be feared that in refusing the language the later Greeks have forgotten the substance of the truth; but that there was no intention of derogating from the Son (for perhaps the question rather concerns the Second Person than the Third) is proved with respect to writers of the Greek Church, who, though they did not speak of the procession from the Son, added to the words ἐκ Πατρὸς πορευόμενον the expression καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λαμβάνων, in allusion plainly to the words in St. John xvi. 15, "He shall take of Mine, and shall show it unto you." Epiphanius, too, often speaks of the Holy Ghost as being ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ.¹ These expressions of the Greek writers were interpreted by the Latins to be equivalent to asserting a procession, and the Greeks in fact did mean originally the same that the Latins meant by procession, *i.e.* a communication of the essence from the Son as well as from the Father; so that, as the Son of God is God of God by being of the Father begotten, so the Holy Ghost is God of God by being of the Father and the Son proceeding.

Now the truth of this double procession, virtually though not expressly contained in Scripture, is thus proved. The Spirit as proceeding from the Father is called the Spirit of the Father (St. Matt. x. 20), and the Spirit of God, and is said to be of God (1 Cor. ii. 11, 12), τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ . . .

¹ For the passages in Epiphanius see Pearson on Article VIII. pp. 570, 571, in edition 1857.

τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ; and in like manner He is called the Spirit of the Son (Gal. iv. 6); of Christ (Rom. viii. 9, 1 St. Pet. i. 11, Phil. i. 19). But if the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of God the Father because He proceedeth from Him, it follows that being also called the Spirit of the Son, He proceedeth also from the Son.

The same conclusion may be drawn from the declaration of our Lord, that He would send the Holy Ghost (St. John xv. 26, xvi. 7), and from His communicating the Holy Spirit to His disciples by breathing on them (St. John xx. 22).¹

4. "The Holy Ghost is of one substance, majesty, and glory with the Father and the Son, and is very and eternal God."

We may pursue the same method in proving this as we did for proving the Godhead of the Son:—

(1.) He is called Eternal (Heb. ix. 14).

(2.) Creative power is ascribed to Him (Gen. i. 2).

(3.) He is described as preserving, life-giving (1 St. Pet. iii. 18, "Quickened by the Spirit").

(4.) Omniscience is implied in Him (St. John xvi. 13), since He who guides us into all truth must know all truth. So 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, "The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God;" He "knoweth the things of God," and therefore must be omniscient—a contrast being here drawn between finite and infinite minds, as in Rom. xi. 33, 34. The same conclusion may be drawn from His prescience (Acts i. 16, xxviii. 25).

(5.) He is an object of worship, as He has a temple (1 Cor. vi. 19, iii. 16); and as these passages represent Him as present in the heart of every believer, and therefore possibly of all men, and certainly everywhere, they further imply His omnipresence. Nor, again, can a Christian well interpret Psalm cxxxix. 7 otherwise than of the Third Person.

(6.) Blasphemy against Him is declared to be unpardonable (St. Matt. xii. 31); all other blasphemy, of course including that against the Father and the Son, being pardonable.

¹ On this point see St. Augustine, de Trin. iv. 20 (vol. viii. p. 829), quoted by Bp. Harold Browne on Art. v. p. 119 (Ed. 4): "Nec possumus dicere quod Spiritus Sanctus et a Filio non procedat: neque enim frustra idem Spiritus et Patris et Filii Spiritus dicitur. Nec video quid aliud significare voluerit, cum sufflans in faciem discipulorum ait, *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum*. Neque enim flatus ille corporeus, cum sensu corporaliter tangendi procedens ex corpore, substantia Spiritus Sancti fuit, sed demonstratio per congruam significationem, non tantum a Patre sed et a Filio procedere Spiritum Sanctum."

The foregoing are preliminary proofs; we now come to the proper and palmary ones. In Acts v. 3 Ananias is declared to lie unto the Holy Ghost, in ver. 4, by the same act, to lie unto God. It is true that there is a grammatical difference: *ψεύσασθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον*, and *ἐψεύσω τῷ Θεῷ*; but the first, on the authority of Psalm lxvi. (Sept. lxxv.) 3 (where the Hebrew equivalent for "lie unto thee" is translated in the Septuagint by *ψεύσονται σε*), has always been construed as equivalent to *τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι*; and besides, it makes no difference whether we say, "Why hast thou deceived (*i.e.* endeavoured to deceive) the Holy Ghost?" or whether we say "Why hast thou lied unto the Holy Ghost?"¹

See also 2 Cor. iii. 17, 18; St. John iii. 6, compared with 1 St. John v. 4; 2 Tim. iii. 16, compared with 2 St. Pet. i. 21; St. John vi. 45, compared with 1 Cor. ii. 13; and Acts i. 16, compared with Acts iii. 18.

We shall use these texts henceforth for a different purpose—to show that the Holy Ghost spake by the prophets. At present they are used to show that the Holy Ghost is God, by showing that the very offices which are attributed to God are attributed to the Holy Ghost. In one passage we are told that men are taught by God, in another that they are taught by the Holy Ghost—therefore the Holy Ghost is God, and a similar result takes place from a comparison of the other texts with one another. And thus we are at length in a condition to complete, so far as it is necessary for our purpose, the whole doctrine of the Trinity in Unity. You will doubtless remember that at the close of the First Article I stated that there were two divisions of proof: the one which I then adopted, the method of taking the passages where all the three Persons are mentioned together; and another, which I deferred, by which every Person by Himself is proved to be God and Lord. This last argument is now complete: of the Father it is not doubted; of the Son it was proved in the Second Article; of the Holy Ghost it is proved in that now under examination. And the proof of these several propositions is cumulative; one throws light on and strengthens the other. For, separately considered, each Person, as soon as He is proved to be God and Lord, makes the general proof more and more conclusive. For example, the Divinity of the Father being granted by all but atheists, there is a presumption, prior to all proof, that the two Persons

¹ Cp. Epiphan. in Ancorato, sec. 9: "Ἀρα Θεὸς ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ᾧ ἐψεύσαντο οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμήματος νοσφισάμενοι; quoted in Pearson on Art. VIII. p. 570.

associated with Him in the baptismal form are likewise Divine, a presumption founded on the conviction that otherwise there must be some derogation in the honour due to the Father. Again, when it is proved that as the Father is, so the Son, as revealed in the Scriptures, likewise is God, the presumption is infinitely greater that the third associated Person, as revealed in the Scriptures, is likewise God. Or again, the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, if first proved, furnishes a presumption for that of the Son. So that, although different in their form of procedure, the two kinds of proof support each other. And so the baptismal form, and the benediction in 1 Cor. xiii. 14, while their main function is to prove the three Persons taken together to be God, yet serve in this way also to substantiate what the other texts have proved, viz., that every Person by Himself is God and Lord. All this time, however, the unity of the Godhead is a fixed principle, so that, "Like as we are compelled by the Christian Verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord, so are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion to say there be three Gods or three Lords."

Let me remark, in passing, that in the passage just quoted from the Athanasian Creed, no opposition or contrast is meant between the expressions "Christian Verity," and "Catholic Religion." "Christian Verity" and "Catholic Religion" are identical or convertible terms, that is, we might say instead of the above, "Like as we are compelled by the Catholic Religion," etc. Both terms imply first and paramount the foundation of Scripture; and then, secondly, and in due subordination, the consent (*consensus*) of the Universal Church, *i.e.* that it was in all places, at all times, and by all the faithful, acknowledged to be a scriptural truth. With respect to this last, I would say that the primitive writers employ in the proof of this Article the same texts that we do, that what may be called the private writings (the writings of individual Fathers) are just as full of allusions to these great doctrines, on the same texts, as any modern sermon; the doctrine is everywhere either proved, or taken for granted as indisputable; but still more the public documents of the Church—the Creeds and the Liturgies, the Te Deum, the Doxology—all bear witness to the truth from the earliest times.

From the nature of these Lectures it is manifestly impossible, within any reasonable limits, to give any adequate idea of what the Fathers contain on these subjects. I have occasionally quoted a few passages, but it was always with the conviction that it was impossible to do justice to the mass of

evidence without reading the whole of their works. And so, on the subject of this Fifth Article, I content myself with referring to the passages quoted by Welchman and Kidd, and informing you that several of the Fathers have written treatises expressly on the Holy Ghost, as St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and others, a list of which will be found in Harvey's *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Vindex Catholicus*, i. 328.

We believe, then, "three distinct Persons in an undivided Substance;" and this we believe quite independently of the office which each Person separately may have assumed in the work of our redemption, for, of course, with the exception of the Incarnation, these relations of the Godhead existed from all eternity, long before the scheme of the Redemption became necessary, unspeakably long before the creation of man, before all worlds. To us, doubtless, the offices conducive to our redemption are the great immediate practical reason for our gratitude and love, but we must not allow even these stupendous manifestations of goodness to lead us to think of the Trinity only in reference to our redemption; still less to employ language which shall imply, as the Sabellians do, one God under three different aspects or three distinct names, instead of saying that there are three distinct Persons in one undivided substance; and in respect of their office, that there is one distinct Person to whom we have been reconciled, another Person by whom we are reconciled, another by whom we are sanctified; and all three together one God.

And this leads me to conclude this Article by a few words respecting the office of the Holy Ghost. The Article itself does not mention it, but it is nevertheless right for us to notice it. And first let us observe that the office of the Holy Ghost, as it respects us men, arises out of the office of the Son.

Sanctification has its origin in Justification. We are justified by Christ's sacrifice being accepted. He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification;¹ the immediate consequence of His death and resurrection was our justification. The immediate consequence of His ascension was our sanctification. It was not till He had ascended up on high, and led captivity captive, that He received gifts for men.² There was a mysterious dependence between the two events. "Nevertheless," said our Lord, "I tell you the truth, it is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you."³ The office of the Holy

¹ Rom. iv. 25.

² Eph. iv. 8, cp. Ps. lxxviii. 18.

³ St. John xvi. 7.

Ghost, therefore, is one constituent and inseparable part of the scheme of Redemption.

Now the title *Holy*, we said, implied, not only what is the essential property of the Comforter Himself, but also His effects on man. *Holy* is equivalent to *sanctifying*, and so He is called in Romans i. 4, "The Spirit of Holiness." Now holiness may be imparted to us either (1.) by teaching us what holiness is, how it may be attained, and the like; that is by showing us the truth, saving truth; or (2.) by enabling us to come up to that pattern, and making the truth practicably available to our use. Both these processes are alike sanctifying in their degree; and the two, though admitting of being considered apart, are really inseparable. The first process is usually termed illuminating grace, the second strengthening, or (in a narrower sense) sanctifying grace.

We will first speak of illuminating grace. It is either (1.) general and external; or (2.) internal and particular.

(1.) The general and external process of illumination (which is often called inspiration),¹ as to the whole Church of God considered as a body, has reference to the revelation of God's will, which revelation has always been proportioned to the state of mankind, sufficient to instruct men unto eternal life.

The revelation was often lost, as among the heathen, or neglected, as amongst the Jews; but still there was a succession of preachers of righteousness,—as Zacharias said, "God spake by the mouth of His holy prophets, which have been since the world began."² Now that this office of general illumination was the office of the Holy Ghost results from texts of which some were before alleged for a different purpose. Take 2 St. Peter i. 21, "Prophecy came not in old time," or "at any time," "by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Again, Acts xx. 23, "The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city;" Acts xxi. 11, "Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews bind the man that owneth this girdle"—the words being spoken in prophecy by the prophet Agabus; Acts xxviii. 25, "Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers, saying, Go ye unto this people," etc.; 1 Cor. ii. 13, "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth;" Heb. iii. 7,

¹ This word is employed sometimes improperly, as in the Collect in the Communion Service, "that by Thy holy inspiration we may think those things that be good," where it means preventive grace.

² St. Luke i. 70.

"As the Holy Ghost saith" (in Psalm xcv. 7), "To-day if ye will hear His voice;" Heb. ix. 8, "The Holy Ghost this signifying" (in the description given in the books of Moses concerning the rites of the law, as in Lev. xvi. 2) "that the way into the holiest of all was not yet manifest," etc.; Heb. x. 15, "Whereof the Holy Ghost is a witness to us, for He, after that He had said before" (*i.e.* by Jeremiah, xxxi. 33, 34), "This is the covenant," etc. Lastly, take Heb. i. 1, 2, "God, who . . . spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son." The Son sent His Holy Spirit into the apostles, the Spirit of Truth, that He might guide them into all the truth, teaching them all things, and bringing all things to their remembrance, whatsoever Christ had said unto them.¹ And so all Scripture, as well as the oral teaching of the inspired apostles, was given by inspiration of God, *i.e.* by the motion and operation of God's Spirit. And this is the meaning of the words in the Nicene Creed, "Who spake by the prophets," *i.e.* that the inspired teachers both of the Old and New Testament were illuminated by the Holy Ghost, *i.e.* that it is His peculiar office.

(2.) Inward and particular illumination. Of course this must be carefully distinguished from the foregoing, and we must guard against fanaticism. We do not pretend under this head to *inspiration*, although the word is sometimes used as applicable to individuals; still less do we speak, as some fanatics do, of the sensible illapse of the Holy Ghost into our minds; the ultimate consequence of that notion, as, for example, among the Quakers, being proved by experience to be a denial of the vital truths of Christianity. But we say simply that whatever faith or knowledge we possess or gain, so as really to discern Divine things, it is owing to the operations of the Holy Ghost. To prove that we cannot attain any Divine knowledge without it, the following texts may suffice: 1 Cor. xii. 3, "Wherefore I give you to understand that . . . no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost;" 1 Cor. ii. 12, "Now we have received, not the Spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God (*ἐκ Θεοῦ*), that we might know the things which are freely given us by God;" or just before, 1 Cor. ii. 10, "But God hath revealed them" (*i.e.* the things which He hath prepared for them that love Him) "unto us by His Spirit."

We come now to the strengthening influence of the Holy Ghost, which is very often expressed by the term sanctifica-

¹ St. John xiv. 26.

tion (though it is more correct to treat it as we have done, since illumination sanctifies us as well as strengthening grace—strength is proportioned to faith, *i.e.* to a thorough knowledge of Divine things, which is the work of illumination); and this strengthening influence, too, is generally understood, when we use the word grace in the sense of “Divine aid to live holy and good lives;” the word “grace” in theology being a technical word, signifying “the influence of the Holy Ghost, to whose agency, direct or indirect, expressed or implied, the work of grace is always to be referred; from whom (in the words of the Collect) “all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed.” This, it should however be noticed, is not always the scriptural meaning of grace.

The grace of the Holy Spirit in this sense is either (1.) preventive, or (2.) co-operative.

(1.) Preventive. This word (from *praevenio*, to come before) has changed its meaning in common language; but the meaning here intended is retained in early English, as in the Collect at the end of the Communion Service, “Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, with Thy most gracious favour, and further us with Thy continual help,” etc., where both the operations are implied.

(2.) Co-operative, or furthering grace, is that by which the Holy Spirit works with us, makes our activity effectual. By the first God by His Spirit puts into our minds good desires, by the second He enables us to bring the same to good effect. It is more convenient to treat these two together, as the same proofs often apply to both.

First, our regeneration, that is, the beginning of a new life, must come under the head of preventive grace; and this is wrought by the Holy Spirit by means of baptism. For this see especially Titus iii. 5, St. John iii. 5. As additional proofs we may add Rom. viii. 14, and Gal. v. 18, where we are said to be “led by the Spirit;” Rom. viii. 26, “Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered;” 1 Cor. xii. 3, “No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost;” Rom. viii. 15, “Ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.”

To these must be added those texts which refer both preventive and co-operative grace to God, *e.g.* Phil. ii. 13, “It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure;” 2 Cor. iii. 5, “Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is

of God ;” and this, because the Person of the blessed Trinity which is said to dwell in our hearts is the Holy Ghost. Compare Rom. viii. 9, “ But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ;” and verse 11, “ But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you,” etc. So 1 St. John iii. 24, “ And hereby we know that He” (that is, God) “ abideth in us, by the Spirit which He hath given us ;” Eph. ii. 22, “ Ye are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.”

Lastly, it is a great and fundamental truth, that ordinarily the Holy Ghost performs these offices by certain means, not as compelled to act by these means, or by any means ; His operations may be, and have been, without any means, *i.e.* immediate, “ *gratia non ligatur medio* ;” but ordinarily He does work by means, such as the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, where the outward and visible sign is made conducive as a means (not by an inherent power in itself, but being *made* conducive) to the inward and spiritual grace, wrought really by the Holy Spirit. To this effect are the texts already quoted, Titus iii. 5, St. John iii. 5, and so the visible Church is described as “ all that building which, fitly framed together in Christ, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord, in whom we are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit ” (Eph. ii. 21, 22). The Apostolic Ministry, in the form ordained by Christ (St. John xx. 21-23), and retained in the form of ordering of Priests in our Church, designed (Eph. iv. 12) for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body, is all referred to the work of the Holy Ghost. Other means, again, are pointed out to us in prayer : St. Luke xi. 13, “ If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him ;”—in the reading and preaching of Holy Scripture : 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17, “ All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and instruction in righteousness ; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works ;”—and lastly, in the Holy Eucharist : 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

This is a short account of the means of grace, concerning which, if any one desire further information, he may consult the Bampton Lecture for 1866.

Here, then, we conclude our remarks on the first five Articles, that is, on the first great division of the Thirty-nine Articles.

ARTICLE VI.

ARTICULUS VI.

**De Divinis Scripturis, quod
sufficiant ad salutem.**

SCRIPTURA sacra continet omnia, quae ad salutem sunt necessaria, ita, ut quicquid in ea nec legitur, neque inde probari potest, non sit a quoquam exigendum, ut tquam articulus fidei credatur, aut ad salutis necessitatem requiri putetur.

Sacrae Scripturae nomine, eos canonicos libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti intelligimus, de quorum authoritate in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est.

*De nominibus, et numero librorum
sacrae Canonicae Scripturae Veteris
Testamenti.*

Genesis,
Exodus,
Leviticus,
Numeri,
Deuteron.,
Josuae,
Judicum,
Ruth,
Prior Liber Samuelis,
Secundus Liber Samuelis,
Prior Liber Regum,
Secundus Liber Regum,
Prior Liber Paralipom.,
Secundus Liber Paralipom.,
Primus Liber Esdrae,
Secundus Liber Esdrae,
Liber Hester,
Liber Job,
Psalmi,
Proverbia,
Ecclesiastes vel Concionator,
Cantica Solomonis,
iv Prophetæ Maiores,
xii Prophetæ Minores.

Alius autem libros (ut ait Hierony-

ARTICLE VI.

**Of the Sufficiency of the holy
Scriptures for salvation.**

HOLY Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

*Of the Names and Number of the
Canonical BOOKS.*

Genesis,
Exodus,
Leviticus,
Numbers,
Deuteronomy,
Joshua,
Judges,
Ruth,
The First Book of Samuel,
The Second Book of Samuel,
The First Book of Kings,
The Second Book of Kings,
The First Book of Chronicles,
The Second Book of Chronicles,
The First Book of Esdras,
The Second Book of Esdras,
The Book of Esther,
The Book of Job,
The Psalms,
The Proverbs,
Ecclesiastes or Preacher,
Cantica, or Songs of Solomon,
Four Prophets the greater,
Twelve Prophets the less.

And the other Books (as Hierome

mus) *legit quidem Ecclesia, ad exempla vite, et formandos mores; illos tamen ad dogmata confirmanda non adhibet: ut sunt.*

Tertius Liber Esdrae,
 Quartus Liber Esdrae,
 Liber Tobiae,
 Liber Judith,
 Reliquum Libri Hester,
 Liber Sapientiae,
 Liber Jesu filii Sirach,
 Baruch Propheta,
 Canticum Trium Puerorum,
 Historia Susannae,
 De Bel et Dracone,
 Oratio Manassis,
 Prior Liber Machabaeorum,
 Secundus Liber Machabaeorum.

Novi Testamenti omnes libros (ut vulgo recepti sunt) recipimus, et habemus pro Canonicis.

saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:

The Third Book of Esdras,
 The Fourth Book of Esdras,
 The Book of Tobias,
 The Book of Judith,
 The rest of the Book of Esther,
 The Book of Wisdom,
 Jesus the Son of Sirach,
 Baruch the Prophet,
 The Song of the Three Children,
 The Story of Susanna,
 Of Bel and the Dragon,
 The Prayer of Manasses,
 The First Book of Maccabees,
 The Second Book of Maccabees.

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.

YOU will remember that at the outset of these Lectures I divided the Articles into four distinct portions: 1-5 inclusive, of the Divine Nature; 6-8 inclusive, of the Rule of Faith; 9-18 inclusive, of Christians considered, if they can be, as individuals; 19-39 inclusive, of Christians considered as a community. I stated also my satisfaction that as respects the first division, which we have just closed, we could walk in the same path as Roman Catholics,—the tenets maintained by us on these points being identical with theirs, neither more nor less,—both the Churches maintaining all the points of faith which the Catholic Church has ever held. We are now, however, arrived at the point of divergence, where the Catholic Church of England differs very materially from the Catholic Church of Rome. The Thirty-nine Articles, it will be remembered, were rendered necessary by these differences, seeing that it was absolutely requisite to reform ourselves from those corruptions from scriptural and catholic doctrine and practice which length of time had introduced into religion. We could not reform ourselves honestly without stating these points of difference; and hence the general intention of the Articles is to controvert Romanism. In fact, the Articles are our formal protest against the uncatholic portions of the teaching of Rome.

This word “protest” leads me to say a few words upon the sense in which the word Protestant may be applied to the Church of England. The first use of the word in reference to matters of religion arose at the Diet of Spire in Germany, in 1529, when the Princes of the Reformed countries

delivered in a formal protest against a decree of the majority of the Diet calculated to hinder the Reformers, and to postpone all changes till the meeting of a Council. However, in a very short time, by a natural transition, but by an impropriety of speech, the word came to be applied to all those who in different degrees, and even on dissimilar principles, found it necessary to reject Romish error.

But though it served very well to designate the common ground on which all Reformers stood, it did not of itself suffice to distinguish the many different shades of opinion which unhappily followed the reaction occasioned by the errors of Rome. I should say also that the name has played a very important part in the political history of the world. For instance, Queen Elizabeth was said to be at the head of the Protestant interests of Europe, this not by any means implying that she agreed in doctrine with the various forms of religion under that name, but that she protected them from the unscrupulous machinations of Rome, and from what was generally identified with Roman policy,—the pressure of arbitrary power. Of course this name, like all general names, admits of ambiguity, and therefore when it is used its sense should be clearly present to the mind, and when called in question by others it should be accurately defined. But with due caution I can see no valid reason against using the name still; indeed, there seems a sort of affectation in avoiding a convenient word. The Church of England still protests against the errors of Rome, and therefore may be conveniently called Protestant,—not, of course, in the original sense, which only applied to the dissentients at the Diet of Spire, nor in the sense of agreeing with those who differ from us in everything else except protesting against Rome; but to express our dissent from those doctrines which are not Catholic, but distinctively Roman. It has been said that Protestantism is a negative religion, that it denies everything, and holds nothing—and perhaps there are some forms of Protestantism which do this; but no one can apply the term Protestant in this sense to the Church of England. The Articles which we have just concluded, her acceptance and constant use of the three Creeds, her Catholic liturgy, her Apostolical ministry, her doctrine of the Sacraments, are evidences of the fulness and completeness of her positive teaching. To speak logically, her negative teaching is a separable accident; her positive teaching is of the essence. And even when she appears to teach negatively, she implies a positive and catholic truth. Thus when she denies the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, she holds the implied

ancient and catholic doctrine of the equality of bishops; while she denies the mediation and intercession of saints, she holds the mediation of Christ alone; and so in the rest. And so even here she teaches positively under a negative form. She holds all the Christian verities expressly; she refuses only unscriptural and uncatholic additions. The conclusion from all this is, that the term Protestant, applied to the Church of England, means nothing more nor less than her refusal to join in what is not scriptural and true.

A similar ultra-sensitiveness to that which has led one party to scruple about the use of the word Protestant, has led others to avoid applying the word Catholic to the Church of England. Those who do are little aware how much they give up to their adversary; for if a Church is really not a branch of the Catholic Church, it is no Church at all. A Church may be an erring branch, or a corrupt branch, or an imperfect branch, of the Catholic Church; but it is a branch so long as it holds to the fundamental truths of the Catholic Church, which are briefly comprehended in the famous saying, "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.*" No mistake is so great as to suppose the word Catholic to imply the slightest sympathy with errors of Rome. The real ground of argument as against those errors is that they do not stand the test of Vincentius' rule. They are to be rejected, *first*, because they are unscriptural; and *secondly*, because there is good ground for thinking that they were not received *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*. Therefore it is that I would always avoid applying the word Catholic, by itself, exclusively to Rome, and that I would always speak of the Church of England as a branch of the Catholic Church. The proper term for the Church of Rome and her members is Roman Catholic,—Catholic in as far as she agrees with the real Catholic Church, of which she is only one branch; Roman as she differs from other branches of the Catholic Church. When in these Lectures, then, I use the word *Catholic*, I mean all Catholic Churches, Eastern as well as Western; when I use the term *Romish*, *Romanist*, I mean to designate shortly all the errors or corruptions of Rome; when I say *Roman Catholic*, I mean that mixture of truth and falsehood which is the characteristic of that Church.

I have thought it expedient to premise these definitions to the part of the Articles which we are about to enter upon, and I will only add further, that I desire to treat these subjects not with bitterness, nor with presumption, but with the simple, though perhaps sometimes severe, love of truth. Again, whilst I am compelled to prove that the Church of

Rome hath erred, I am by no means assuming the infallibility of our own Church ; infallible no one can think her nor any other visible Church ; but, *de facto*, she may be shown to be as free from blemishes, in her theory, as any ; in some indifferent matters doubtless admitting of improvement, even in her theory ; and in respect to practice, that is the real use which members of the Church of England make of their extraordinary privileges, there is great cause for shame and penitence. "From him to whom much is given much will be required,"—this is the text by which we shall all be tried, and in reference to this we must always consider our relations to the Church. With respect to these Lectures, they will in great measure have failed in their object, if those who hear me do not become or continue sound living members of the Church of England ; Churchmen in deed no less than in name.

We now proceed, then, to the Articles respecting the Rule of Faith. You may remember the illustration formerly used, according to which the Creeds were declared to be *Regulae Fidei* in one sense, the Scriptures in another ; the Creeds being compared with the carpenter's rule in common use, the Scriptures with the standard measure laid up at the Tower, which may be used at any time to test the accuracy of any measure in common use, such ordinary measures being liable to constant errors. This is an exact account, *me judice*, of the view which the Church takes of this matter, placing the Scriptures as supreme, the Creeds as subordinate ; and if the Creeds, still more the private judgments of even ancient writers,—judgments of inestimable value as historical witnesses of the tenets maintained in their time, but all the more valuable as they are subjected to the test of Scripture, and found to agree with it. Our Church accordingly gives the first place to the Scriptures as the standard (Articles VI. and VII.), taking care to define what she means by the Scriptures, what she includes therein, in this controversy with Rome ; and in the Eighth Article she declares her acceptance of the three Creeds on the express ground that they do agree with the standard.

When we compare the existing English with the Latin version of the Sixth Article, we find a slight difference in the title, the Latin expressing as a fact the sufficiency which is only implied in the English ; and in the body of the Article the Latin is somewhat the more precise in form, though identical in meaning with the English. Thus, "requisite or necessary" is shown by the Latin "*ad necessitatem requiri*" to be only the expression of a single idea by means of syn-

onyms; and the addition of the words "*Veteris Testamenti*" removes the possible implication (which is, however negatived by the concluding clause of the Article) that in these Old Testament books were included all that are canonical.

The Article contains two main propositions, which we will analyse presently:—

1. The sufficiency of Holy Scripture to salvation.
2. What we understand by Holy Scripture.

The first thing to be observed is, that the whole of the second proposition, from "In the name" to the end, is wholly absent in the Articles of 1552. It was not at first perceived probably that some of the controversies with Rome would be affected by the use of the Apocrypha; and the addition of the list, which first took place in 1562, was owing probably to the greater critical accuracy which was springing up in the interval; more especially the greater cultivation of the languages of Holy Scripture. As long as the volume in common use was only the Vulgate translation (particularly as the genuine and apocryphal books are there mixed up together without any sufficient¹ mark of difference), so long the value of the distinction would be lost sight of; but when it came to be known that the apocryphal books of the Old Testament were not written in Hebrew, and that they were rejected by the Jews themselves, it became evidently honest to caution all persons against the doctrinal use of such writings in Church controversy; hence, then, the addition in the two final editions (1562 and 1571).

It is to be observed that Holy Scripture is not itself here defined; it is taken for granted that it is the inspired Word of God. No Roman Catholic ever doubted that; and it was the errors of the Roman Catholics that necessitated the Thirty-nine Articles, which we must always bear in mind are not intended as a *Corpus Theologicum*. In the Council of Trent (Session iv., April 8, 1546, p. 20) it was expressly laid down that the Bible was written "*Spiritu sancto dictante*," so that any declaration to that effect was here superfluous.

We now return to the first proposition, which contains two parts: *a.* the sufficiency of Holy Scripture to salvation; *β.* the negative consequence, that no Article which is not either read in it, or may be proved by it, is to be required to be believed as an article of faith, or to be thought necessary

¹ It is true that there are sometimes notes in the Vulgate, as to the later part of Esther, and at the end of the canonical Book of Daniel, remarking the absence of portions from the Hebrew version; but for the most part no distinction is drawn.

to salvation. As they are intimately connected, however, they may be conveniently treated together, provided we remember that they are two distinguishable parts. It is to be noticed that in the edition of 1552, after the words "*maie be proved therby,*" is added a clause which was subsequently omitted: "*although it be sometime receiued of the faithfull, as Godlie, and profitable for an ordre and comelinesse.*"

In order to the understanding of this proposition, we must consider what error the compilers of the Articles would appear to have had principally in view. This point is determined by referring to the earlier Sessions of the Council of Trent, which first met December 13, 1545. In its fourth Session (April 8, 1546, p. 20) they settled their Canon of Holy Scripture, but besides the Scriptures, they mention as the ground of their faith Traditions, and pronounce an anathema on those who do not receive *their* Scriptures—*i.e.* the Vulgate, full of errors—and *their* traditions. It appears, then, that they did require, under an anathema, the reception of articles which were not found in the Scriptures, nor could be proved out of the Scriptures, *i.e.* Traditions. It was against this, then, that our Article was directed. It is not against infidels, but against errors of those who hold the doctrine of Inspiration as unhesitatingly as we do.

Let it be clearly understood that the Roman Catholics do not deny that the Scriptures are *a* rule of faith, but they maintain that they are not the only paramount rule of necessary faith. The Romanists hold the inspiration and truth of the Scriptures, but they depreciate its value by interpolating uninspired writings, and by giving co-ordinate authority to tradition. They do hold the truth of the Scriptures (*i.e.* according to their own Latin version), but they hold something more; so that our business is to treat collaterally of Tradition as a fountain of truth, as well as of Holy Scripture.

The proposition, then, which we are mainly to prove is, that "*no doctrine is necessary, which is not supported by the written and inspired Word of God.*"

We do not mean, of course, that there never was a time when the case was different. In the lifetime of the apostles and evangelists, particularly in the interval between the day of Pentecost and the first book or epistle which was written, that doubtless would be required as necessary to salvation which was either expressly stated by the inspired apostles by word of mouth, or could be legitimately inferred from their spoken words. In those days oral teaching and written teaching were of equal authority, because both inspired.

The words of St. John which he spoke face to face¹ were equally the Word of God as the epistle which he wrote when absent; nay, the primary promise of inspiration was to the apostles' words.² But our proposition applies to subsequent times, and signifies that since the departure of apostles and evangelists, and the completion of the canon of the Scriptures, no Article is necessary which is not capable of being supported by the written Word.

Observe further, that it was never intended by this Article to make the individual faith of each Christian depend on a critical knowledge of the Scriptures, or that no one could be expected to receive individually an Article of Faith, unless he were able individually to see the proof for it, either express or implied, in Holy Writ. It is one thing to say "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation," and a different thing to say, "The literal and theological knowledge of Holy Scripture is necessary to salvation." The great mass of mankind, even if they can read, have no leisure, nor knowledge sufficient to examine the Bible in such a way as to gather for themselves all the scattered rays of truth; and nothing would be more perilous, or rather more certain to lead to infinite divisions of faith and worship, than the assertion of such a claim on the part of every individual. Of course I am not arguing against the use of the Bible by every Christian, whether ignorant or learned; whether it is read to him or he reads it himself; whether he hears it in church or reads it in his closet, or to his friends by his cottage fire—the moral and devotional use of the Bible is universal; its doctrinal and intellectual use, as primary, must in the nature of things be confined to those (no matter whether laity or clergy) who are in a condition to understand it. It has been said with truth that "the Scripture is an ocean in which the elephant must swim, and the lamb may wade;" a child may learn by the bare unaided perusal of it what he ought to do, and even much of what he ought to believe; but not all he ought to believe: his doctrinal knowledge, unaided either by preparatory or simultaneous training, must needs be fragmentary and disjointed. I am supposing, of course, in such a case, the absence of all guides—well-instructed parents, pastors, and teachers; the absence of Creeds, Catechisms, Prayer-book, and Liturgy; of all comment, whether oral or written; and no one can doubt that, after making allow-

¹ 2 John 12.

² St. Matt. x. 19, 20; St. Mark xiii. 11; St. Luke xii. 11, 12, xxi. 14, 15; St. John xvi. 13, cp. 2 Thess. ii. 15.

ance for extraordinary exceptions, the general result of such unassisted use of the Scriptures, even after the labour of many years, would very little resemble the faith once for all delivered to the saints. The advocates of "private judgment" cannot themselves quite mean it in this sense; and certainly the Church of England gives no sanction to such a mode of self-teaching. The first principle is hereditary religion, not on the principle of mere traditional teaching, but on that of teaching truth as a fact, before you teach the reason or the ground. This is her language, immediately after baptism, to the sponsors: "Ye are to take care that this child shall be taught"—what? not the exclusive duty of reading the Scripture by itself,—but that it "shall be taught, so soon as it shall be able to learn, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and be further instructed in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose." And surely in this order our Church has acted upon the principles of common sense, or, I will say rather, on the soundest principles of educational philosophy. It was the profound remark of Aristotle, that deep searcher into the mysteries of the human heart, that as the great basis of education in general, ἀρχὴ τὸ ὅτι, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ τυχόντος,—“the first principle of education is the fact; it is not every one who can appreciate the reason or ground.” By this rule the Creed, the Clergy, the Catechism, and the Prayer-book, the ὅτι, should at all events come first in order. The Scriptures as a rule of obedience may and should accompany the use of these; as a rule of faith, that is, as describing the grounds, the διὰ τὸ, of belief, it should follow after; accessible and open, even in this sense, to all; but the full privilege of examining or pretending to judge the doctrinal contents of the Scriptures assigned only to those who have learning and opportunity enough, or have been duly prepared; and even by them Holy Scripture is to be interpreted according to the analogy of faith,¹ and with the deepest respect for the interpretation of the genuine early Church. All this is only applying to Divinity that which is true in every other branch of inquiry. Take, for instance, Law: no one would be deemed qualified to ascertain the rules and principles of this science who has not learning and opportunities. Blackstone is accessible to all, but it would be absurd to place it in the hands of a peasant; and again, those who do interpret it, feel the deepest respect for the recorded opinions, not only of the early lawyers, but of the whole succession of authoritative interpreters. I do not mean to press this analogy too

¹ See Art. xx.

far; it obviously fails in this, that the Bible is to be placed in people's hands, those of all people, without distinction, in order to their obtaining rules of life, as I said before; whereas this is not true of Blackstone.

Connected with the erroneous view of private judgment which I have been describing, is the mistake of those who assert that the Bible should be circulated without note or comment, which in other words means that you should make the study of it as difficult as you can. This error extends even to the methods adopted for converting the heathen, it being thought by some that the best mode of converting them to Christianity, or at least of preparing them for it, is to circulate the Scriptures as the first step—translated, of course, in their respective languages. This plan seems to me to arise from a want of observing the unsystematic form of the Bible, and from an ignorance of the constitution of the Church. The great first step is an apostolically ordained Missionary; and even he will make more way, probably, at first by the Catechism and Creeds than by the Bible. But to return to the principle of circulating the Bible without note or comment: we must, of course, be careful to select sound Church-of-England commentaries (and we have one to our hands in the inimitable Prayer-book), but this caution being observed, it is surely advisable, nay, simply common sense, considering how difficult and unsystematic a volume the Bible is, to give every facility for its being understood, and above all to increase the number of those living commentators, a well-educated clergy. No one would think it wise to put a Greek book, say Thucydides, into a boy's hands, and deny him the assistance of a tutor, or even the use of a grammar and lexicon.

We return now, after this necessary digression into the question of the general use of the Scriptures, to the main proposition: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation." Our controversy here is not with the infidel, but with the Romanist, who is the primary occasion of the Articles: not whether there is such a thing as an inspired Word of God—for that had never been in dispute from the earliest ages down to the Reformation,—or whether this universal book is the Word of God: but whether there are any other independent sources of Divine truth.

Now the proof of this must be so conducted. Holy Scripture must be divided into its two constituent parts, the Old Testament and the New Testament. Looking at these two portions, there must manifestly be a difference in the mode of proof. We can prove from the New Testament that

the Old Testament contained all things necessary for the Jew, and that our Lord Himself with respect to them strongly condemned tradition; and when we add to this that the Old Testament¹ forbids, under very heavy penalties, the adding to or taking from the law, we have proof sufficient, when worked out, for the Old Testament. With respect to the New Testament, it was hardly to be expected that it would contain within itself very clear and express testimony to its own paramount and exclusive authority, considering that it was written at such detached intervals,—written too at a time when oral teaching was, as we have seen, during the life of the inspired apostles and teachers, equal in authority to the written teaching; when it was indifferent whether St. Paul, for instance, taught by “word” or by “his epistle.” Yet we do find in the last book of the New Testament—the Revelation—a very explicit condemnation of the sin of adding to the Word of God: “For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book”²—a passage analogous to that alluded to above with respect to the Jewish Scriptures: “Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it.”³ To this may be added the words of St. Paul to Timothy: “All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works”⁴—*i.e.* a man may be perfect by obeying all scripture—this phrase “all scripture” comprehending, doubtless, not only the Old Testament, but all those parts of the New which were already written, and by parity of reasoning all that which was being written, so as to be comprehended within the canon of Scripture. So that the New Testament, being assumed to be *θεόπνευστος*, does contain no slight indications, sufficient for the satisfaction of the Christian, of the truth of the proposition before us as regards the New Testament itself.

But the strongest argument, and one which would be sufficient even if these passages just quoted had never been written, is drawn from analogy. We have ample ground for inferring that what was necessary to be known or done by Christians would be written in the inspired Christian law, from what was done with regard to the Jewish religion. Indeed, the argument is *a fortiori*. If inspired writing was

¹ Deut. iv. 2. ² Rev. xxii. 18. ³ Deut. iv. 2. ⁴ 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

the standard of faith for the Jewish people, who had every motive to remember and hand down from father to son the deliverance out of Egypt and the terrors of the giving of the law, and whose ceremonies and even anniversaries were expressly appointed to keep alive the memory of these things,—which was for so many ages under a direct theocracy,—which had inspired prophets raised up during a succession of more than ten centuries from the time of Moses,—which, moreover, had the perpetual oracle of the Urim and Thummim in the high priest's breastplate,¹—if God-inspired writing was resorted to as the sure memorial even of the Ten Commandments, written twice by the finger of God,²—then, *a fortiori*, it might be expected beforehand that inspired writing would also be resorted to under the new dispensation, considering that inspiration so soon ceased, and that in the other outward circumstances the Christian differed so much from the Jew. Bearing this in mind, then, let us see what our Lord Himself, admitted to be God and man, said respecting the Old Testament: "Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come to me, that ye might have life."³ We may add to this the praise bestowed upon the Jews of Berea, who "searched the scriptures daily, whether these things were so."⁴ And still more decisive is our Lord's condemnation of traditions: "Why do ye transgress the commandments of God by your tradition?"⁵ probably in allusion to Deut. iv. 2, already quoted. Again, the chief part of the Sermon on the Mount is intended to rectify traditions, modifications, or additions to the written law. Either, therefore, we must imagine that a new rule was to be adopted with respect to traditions, without any hint being given of the change, while the appearance of analogy between two inspired documents was allowed to remain, notwithstanding the real alteration; or the same principle on which our Lord rejected Jewish traditions as co-ordinate with inspired Scripture must still, we may suppose, be valid against the traditions which in the later Christian Church have been added to the written faith of Scripture.

To the argument from analogy, drawn from the condemnation of Jewish traditions, I would add, as corroborative of the position that the inspired written Word, God's Word,

¹ Exod. xxviii. 30; Lev. viii. 8; Ezra ii. 63.

² Exod. xxxi. 18; Deut. ix. 10, x. 1, 2.

³ St. John v. 39, 40.

⁴ Acts xvii. 11.

⁵ St. Matt. xv. 3; St. Mark vii. 13: "Making the word of God of none effect by your tradition."

was paramount in matters of faith, which is what we contend for, the fact that the Old Testament was read publicly in the synagogue every Sabbath-day,¹ a practice which was sanctioned by our Saviour Himself, who at Nazareth, "*as his custom was*, went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and stood up for to read."² With this last passage we may compare the manner of reading the law described in Nehemiah.³

On the whole, then, there is very good ground in Scripture for taking the Bible as the authority in faith, to the exclusion of such other authorities as profess to be supplemental to it,—still more to such as are opposed to itself; and there is no ground in Scripture (we shall presently examine some apparent exceptions), there is no ground from analogy, but everything against it, for giving any concurrent weight to traditions. It follows that the authority of tradition in matters of the faith must be proved from something external to the Bible, and this proof must be either from the testimony of early writers, or early records of the Church considered as historical proof of the fact; or else it must be tradition itself,—I mean that there must be a tradition that tradition is supplemental or equivalent to the Bible. But this last may be surely dismissed at once, as it is in fact saying that tradition is proved by itself. It remains, therefore, that we appeal to the written testimony of the early Church;—and this brings me to the second argument which we are able to advance in support of the Article.

This second argument for the sufficiency of Holy Scripture in matters of faith, is the fact that early Christian writers, the Fathers of the Church, appeal to Scripture as the great paramount authority in all such subjects. This, let me again repeat it, is the true statement of the controversy. We are not contending that there were not some wholesome traditions on matters of the external form of worship, custom, or even the interpretation of passages in the Scriptures,—though even these traditions, unwritten at first, were very early committed to writing; we do not dispute, but accept these traditions—as, for instance, the sign of the cross in Baptism,⁴—provided that they have not been abused as vehicles to later corruptions in doctrine and worship; but we are speaking of such traditions as are independent of the Scriptures, in some cases repugnant to them, and concern Articles of indispensable faith.

Now the examples of the early Christian writers and

¹ Acts xiii. 15, 27, xv. 21.

² St. Luke iv. 16.

³ Neh. viii. 2-8.

⁴ See Canon xxx., referred to in the rubric at the end of the Baptismal Service.

Churches bear sufficient witness that they as well as ourselves draw this distinction between traditions in matters either indifferent or of inferential importance, as tending to edification and embodying doctrines, and matters essential to salvation. But even here they took care not to leave indifferent or circumstantial traditions to chance, but very early left a record of them, as St. Basil has in his treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*.¹ What they thought of the paramount authority of Holy Scripture in matters of faith may be seen from the following specimens of their mode of reasoning, selected from a multitude of equal force in proving our point:—

“Consequently, whether it be respecting Christ or His Church, or any other subject whatever pertaining to our faith and practice, I will not say if *we*, because we are not to be compared in authority to the apostle who used the words ‘if we,’ but I will use the words which he adds, ‘if an angel from heaven preach unto you anything besides what you have received from the Scriptures of the law and the gospel (*legalibus et evangelicis*, i.e. the Old and New Testament), let him be accursed.”² Here it will be obvious that St. Augustine has taken for his text Gal. i. 8: “But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.” And so again the same Father, speaking of certain assertions of Faustus the heretic, about the descent of the Virgin Mary from David, says that “*Quia canonicum non est, non me constringit* ;”³ and again in another place, “*Sancta Scriptura nostrae doctrinae regulam figit, ne audeamus plus sapere quam oporteat sapere*.”⁴ Similarly St. Jerome says: “*Omni studio legendae nobis Scripturae sunt, et in lege Domini meditandum die ac nocte, ut probati trapezitae sciamus quis nummus probus sit, quis adulter*.”⁵ And Hilary says in like manner: “*Qui quae scripta sunt negas, quid restat nisi ut quae non scripta sunt probes*.”⁶ And Athanasius tells us that “The holy and divinely inspired Scriptures are of themselves sufficient for the discovery of the truth ;”⁷ and Cyril of

¹ Basil, de Sp. S. c. 66, p. 54.

² Aug. c. lit. Pet. iii. 6.

³ Id. c. Faust. Man. xxiii. 9.

⁴ Aug. de bono viduitatis, c. i. 2, cp. c. Faust. Man. vii. 2—a passage curiously apposite to modern Rationalism; and see further passages quoted in Jewel's Works, vol. iv. p. 276.

⁵ Jer. Ep. ad Eph. c. 5, p. 378.

⁶ Hil. de Trin. ix. 35, p. 1005 (ed. Par. 1693).

⁷ Αὐτάρκεις μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ἅγιοι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν.—Ath. Orat. c. Gentes, vol. i. p. 1B.

Jerusalem is even more explicit: "There ought nothing at all to be delivered concerning the divine and holy mysteries of faith without the Holy Scriptures, nor ought we to be moved at all with probabilities or compositions of speech. Neither do thou believe me that say these things, unless thou takest the demonstrations of the things which are said out of the Holy Scriptures."¹ It is further to be observed that the same appeal is made to the Bible in the Acts of the Councils.

This is surely enough for our purpose, and I now draw this argument:—If the early Fathers, so much nearer the date of the promulgation of the Gospel, recognised the Scripture alone as the standard and touchstone of necessary faith, *a fortiori* is this right in us who live at so great a distance. If the Council of Nice, 325, did not venture to affirm any articles of faith as such, except such as were either expressly in Holy Scripture, or might be drawn from it, how could the Council of Trent, so-called, in the sixteenth century, venture to add twelve new and unscriptural articles to the Nicene Creed, subjoined to that ancient creed immediately after the word "Amen," and closed by the words, "I promise to believe and to preach this (*i.e.* not the Nicene Creed alone, but all the intermediate articles also), this the true Catholic faith, out of which no one can be saved," (*"extra quam nemo salvus esse potest."*)² It is really very shocking to compare such an addition to the Creed with the passages which have been read out of the Fathers; and we might well answer, like Bishop Jewel, in the words of St. Jerome: "*Quisquis es assertor novorum dogmatum, quaeso te ut parcas Romanis auribus: parcas fidei, quae apostolico ore laudatur. Cur post quadringentos annos docere nos niteris, quod antea nescivimus? cur profers in medium quod Petrus et Paulus edere noluerunt? Usque ad hunc diem sine ista doctrina mundus Christianus fuit."*³

In order to understand more nearly this Romish notion of Tradition, let us take an instance where Protestant writers make use of tradition, and compare it with one of the Romish

¹ Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, μηδὲ τὸ τυχόν ἀνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν μηδὲ ἀπλῶς πιθανότησι καὶ λόγων κατασκευαῖς παραφέρεισθαι· μηδὲ ἐμοὶ τῷ ταῦτα λέγοντι ἀπλῶς πιστεύεσθαι, εἰν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν καταγγελλομένων ἀπὸ τῶν θείων μὴ λάβης γραφῶν.—Cyr. Hier. Catech. iv. 12, p. 56. These two quotations are taken from Beveridge on Article vi., vol. i. p. 266.

² Bull of Pius iv., at the close of the Council of Trent, Nov. 15, 1564.

³ Hieron. ad Pammachium et Oceanum, in Jewel, vol. iv. p. 211. See also several authorities collected by Dr. Pusey: *The Truth and Office of the Church of England*, p. 337 foll.

traditions. Wall, in his History of Infant Baptism, dwells much and conclusively on the existence of this practice in the early Church, from whence he infers that the custom, which a rationalistic view of it would have led men to reject, was directed by the apostles themselves. Observe that there is nothing repugnant to God's Word in this proof of fact, nothing which is not perfectly consistent with Holy Scripture, which tells us that baptism is necessary for all, and that Christ said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not;" and the way to come to Him is through baptism. Hence, quite consistently, by the aid of this ancient tradition, which is quite immemorial, we adopt the custom of Infant Baptism. Now contrast this process with the mode in which the doctrine of Transubstantiation was introduced into the Church of Rome. About the seventh or eighth century this doctrine was first heard of; there is no countenance for it in the early writers, in the Creeds or Canons of Councils (of course Roman Catholics try to prove the contrary, but they have signally failed); "it overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and is repugnant to God's written words." At first the doctrine circulated privately, as a private opinion, and so it went on till the Lateran Council in 1215, when it was defined as an article of faith. A tradition, to be good for anything, must be immemorial, whereof the memory runneth not to the contrary; a tradition, of which a beginning may be indicated, short of the time to which it professes to reach, is no tradition, but either a new revelation, in which case it is bound to show its proofs, and tell us when, where, and by whom it was revealed, or else it is an invention. The only alternative is that there must be lodged somewhere a secret unwritten tradition, handed down, nobody knows how, to certain persons, nobody knows who. Some say that such knowledge of tradition is lodged in the Councils, some in the Pope; indeed, it has been said by Romish writers of great name, in treatises of scholastic divinity, that the Pope has all laws "*in scrinio pectoris sui*;" some have even said that he can make or unmake an article of faith, or dispense with moral obligation, and they have said this unrebuked.

It is unnecessary to comment on this blasphemous absurdity, which is repudiated by respectable Roman Catholics themselves; it is as if a new virtue could be invented in the nineteenth century; or, taking the analogous case of law, as if a judge, *qua* judge, should pretend to a traditional knowledge of some unwritten law, of which the Acts of Parliament, or the books, in which after all laws at first unwritten are found, are wholly silent, and pronounce

that to be law *ex cathedra*, which had never been heard of before. It really is hardly too much to say that this pretended power of the Pope is communicated to him by his chair; what he speaks in his closet is mere private opinion, what he says *ex cathedra* is Divine law.

We may contrast all this vagueness and uncertainty, to say the least of it, which results from the Romish system, with our own simple and intelligible rule, in which due proportionate weight is given to the Scriptures, and to antiquity, *i.e.* to genuine tradition. This may be seen in the injunctions given to preachers, in the Canons of 1571: "*Imprimis vero videbunt, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinae Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quodque ex illa doctrina catholici patres, et veteres episcopi collegerint.*"¹

The chief objections that have been raised against this portion of the Article are as follows:—

1. In Acts xx. 35 we seem to have a traditional saying, "To remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive." It was so indeed till St. Luke wrote it, but he might have written it equally in his Gospel, though he chose to write it, or rather the Holy Spirit was pleased through him to have it written, in the Acts; so that this is rather a confirmation of what has been said, though after all it might be better to say it is not an Article of Faith.

2. In 1 Cor. xi. 2 St. Paul bids the Corinthians "keep the ordinances" (*παράδοσεις*, in the margin "traditions"). These are evidently laudable customs. The whole context (down to ver. 16, "We have no such *custom*, neither the churches of God") is on matters of inferior importance, such as the question of covering the head in prayer;² and we never dispute the propriety of observing such traditions, provided only they are not enforced as matters necessary to salvation. It may fall hardly on ultra-Reformers, who destroyed laudable customs indiscriminately with Romish superstitions.

3. In 2 Thess. ii. 15 we read, "Stand fast, and hold by the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word

¹ Cardwell's *Synodalia*, vol. i. p. 126. These Canons, however, were only signed by the Upper House of Convocation, and were never confirmed by Queen Elizabeth's sanction.

² The further consideration of this point naturally comes later, under Article xxxiv.

or our epistle." This applied individually to that Church which St. Paul is addressing, or to others which, like that, had heard the oral teaching of St. Paul, which of course was binding, and was well known to them. But this text cannot be drawn into a general precept, applicable also to us, who never heard St. Paul; *e.g.* this word being inapplicable, and Holy Scripture quite as applicable to us as to the Thessalonians, we exactly obey St. Paul in taking his written epistle as our guide.

4. The last objection which need be noticed is that it is by tradition that we know the Scriptures to have come from God. This is true historically. It is a fact which we learn only partly from external evidence handed down in the writings of the early Church. The Church, as we shall see in a later Article, is the keeper of Holy Writ. And we have already seen the error of supposing it incumbent on every one to discover his faith in the Bible for himself. But this tradition witnesses only to the fact which internal evidence confirms; and then, believing the Scriptures on these grounds to have come from God, we appeal to them alone, as the early writers did. It is a very different thing to say that tradition, and after all not *unwritten* tradition, testifies to the genuineness of certain books, and to say that tradition is of co-ordinate authority with the books. To take an analogy: A certain Act of Parliament, or a certain law, or a legal document, is proved to be genuine by the testimony of those to whom it is necessarily intrusted—say the Keeper of the Rolls. This instrument, if genuine, is legally operative, and by virtue of its provisions a certain estate descends. It would be manifestly absurd to say that because its genuineness is attested by its keeper, and its validity depends partly on his testimony, that he is therefore of co-ordinate authority, or that the instrument takes effect by any authority of his. He is simply an external witness to a fact, and no more; the legal instrument binds *per se*, and not by any authority derived from him. Compare this supposed case with the objection stated, and it falls to the ground. The Church traditional is an external witness, and no more; the Bible is of paramount authority *per se*.

Thus far for the first proposition, confirming Holy Scripture, and excluding tradition. But it is manifest that a loophole for error might be left, if the meaning of the name "Holy Scripture" were left ambiguous.

We come now, therefore, to the second proposition of the Article,—the sentence which is not found in the edition of 1552, containing the definition of what Holy Scripture is.

And first let it be repeated that our present controversy is not with those who deny the authenticity, genuineness, and inspiration of Scripture; for this is assumed as granted throughout the Articles. There is of course no objection to treating these subjects here, but it would be irrelevant to our present purpose.

Our main controversy at this point, considering the occasion which produced the Articles, is with those who would add to the authoritative Scriptures; and yet not to both volumes of Scripture—for this the Romanists have never attempted,—but to the Old Testament only. And first let us name the books about which both sides are agreed as canonical; and in doing this I cannot do better than name them in the form in which the Jews considered them, as classified under twenty-two heads, the number of letters in their alphabet.¹ Dividing them first into three classes (as they are distinguished in St. Luke xxiv. 44), viz., (1.) the Law, comprising the Pentateuch; (2.) the Prophets, comprising Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the twelve lesser Prophets; (3.) the Psalms, or Hagiographa, including Ruth, the Psalms, Job, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Daniel, Hester, Ezra, Chronicles; they made a detailed enumeration of them as follows:—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Genesis. | 12. Esther. |
| 2. Exodus. | 13. Job. |
| 3. Leviticus. | 14. The Psalms. |
| 4. Numbers. | 15. The Proverbs. |
| 5. Deuteronomy. | 16. Ecclesiastes. |
| 6. Joshua. | 17. Cantica. |
| 7. Judges and Ruth. | 18. Isaiah. |
| 8. The two Books of Samuel. | 19. Jeremiah. |
| 9. The two Books of Kings. | 20. Ezekiel. |
| 10. The two Books of Chronicles. | 21. Daniel. |
| 11. Ezra and Nehemiah. | 22. The twelve lesser Prophets. |

The result of all this is the extreme accuracy, superstitious accuracy if one will, with which the books within the Canon, as first settled by Ezra, was reckoned. It may well be looked on as a providential accuracy, because it enables us to ascertain not only what was reckoned genuine, but what, by inference at least, must be rejected as spurious.

Having now stated what we agree in, we come to that in which we differ. We say that “the other books,” *i.e.* the

¹ This knowledge we owe to Josephus, c. Apion, i. 8; illustrated by the modern Jews. Cp. Sixt. Senens. Bibl. Sanct. i. p. 2.

Apocrypha,¹ "the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners." The Roman Catholics think it further allowable to use them to establish doctrine. All the books enumerated in our apocryphal catalogue are not only mixed up with canonical books, without, generally speaking, any note of difference, but they are maintained as canonical in the Fourth Session of the Council of Trent, April 8, 1546, p. 21 (for the first time that they are received by a formal act of any Church on that footing), with the exception of the third and fourth books of Esdras, and the Prayer of Manasses, which are not named. These they do not embody in the Old Testament, but publish after the Apocalypse, with the following notice prefixed to them: "*Oratio Manassae, necnon libri duo, qui sub libri tertii et quarti Esdrae nomine circumferuntur, hoc in loco, extra scilicet seriem canonicorum librorum, quos sancta Tridentina Synodus suscepit, et pro canonicis suscipiendos decrevit, sepositi sunt, ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus interdum citantur, et in aliquibus Bibliis Latinis tam manuscriptis quam impressis reperiuntur.*"

With regard to the proposition that it is allowable to use these books for example of life and instruction of manners (which is equivalent to the proposition stated above, that "the Church doth read them" with these objects), it should be stated that some of the ultra-Reformers have disputed this; and even in our own Church there has sometimes been a sensitive dislike to the portion of the Apocrypha which is read on week-days during the month of October and part of November, and some go so far as to refuse the admission of the Apocrypha into their Bibles.

But it may be answered, *first*, that due care is taken in our Bibles to mark the difference between the genuine Scriptures and the Apocrypha; they are printed in a different form, separable from the canonical books, and called Apocrypha, in this respect forming a strong contrast with the Latin Vulgate: and *secondly*, that the portions read are useful as showing what the artifices of idolaters could do; or as pious hymns, like the Song of the Three Children, which our Church allows as a substitute for the Te Deum; or as instructive lessons in morality; or as most beautiful illustrations of a godly, religious, and happy life, as Ecclesiasticus; or

¹ The word "Apocryphal," from ἀποκρύπτωμαι, means, "whose origin was hidden from the Fathers,"—wanting testimonials, of character suspected. The books are sometimes called Ecclesiastical, to show that they were read in the Church.

as the main link between the history of the Old Testament and that of the New ; without which link we should have a large part of four hundred years very imperfectly accounted for. And *lastly*, we may add to this that some useful information can be drawn from them in illustration of the language of the New Testament, as in the use of the terms *λόγος* and the Spirit of God, which serve to show historically that the notion of Persons had already been established among the Jews.

In themselves, therefore, these books are, within the limits here stated, valuable books ; and one can really see no more harm in reading them in the Church occasionally than in reading a sermon or homily,—both being granted to be of human composition and authority, and both intended for edification.

But when we turn to the other side of the question, and hear it asserted that they are canonical books, and that they may be used for doctrinal proofs, the case becomes very different. The question is, Has the Church done so ? and of different Churches, if one does apply them doctrinally and the other does not, one or the other must be in error, as differing from the practice of the best ages of Christianity.

But first let us consider what is antecedently probable and abstractedly right. Is it probable that early Christians would have ventured to do that with writings professedly belonging to the elder covenant, which the Jews themselves positively disclaimed with regard to these writings ? The Jews believed certain theological truths, and certain historical facts, as incontrovertibly true, because it was “so written ;” but this term “written,” as we find it in our Lord’s own words in the New Testament, would mean, *first*, what was written in Hebrew ; and *secondly*, nothing more nor less than “divinely inspired,”—a term which they confined to what they and we call the canonical books,¹ as settled by the inspired prophet Ezra, and which in consequence even of their superstitious scruples they could not extend to anything beyond the canon. It is well known, for instance, that they counted the syllables ; and Philo tells us that they would rather die a thousand deaths than alter a single letter. We may

¹ To this our Lord gave His sanction, as did also the apostles. The New Testament has no passage quoted from the Apocrypha ; but according to Bishop Harold Browne, all but six of the canonical books are quoted. (See Cosin’s Scholastic History of the Canon, c. iii. §§ 31-40.) A list is found in the Preface to the Vulgate of all the quotations from the Old Testament which are found in the New.

simply ask, therefore, which was more likely to be mistaken in this matter, the Jew or the Roman Catholic? Either the Apocrypha is divinely inspired or it is not. If it is, how is it that it is not to be found in the Jewish Hebrew Bible? that the people to whom were committed the oracles of God never have received it? that it is found only written (as the Vulgate testifies of some of them) in Greek,¹ and that Alexandrian Greek,—no obscure vindication of its later, perhaps its foreign, origin. If it is not, how can the Romanists safely derive doctrine from it? By doctrine, we mean not history, nor good example; but God's truth, as He has revealed it. But according to the Jews, who had better means of judging than we have, He has not here revealed it, nor have holy men of old spoken as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; but fallible men, some even taking forged names, and attributing as the work of a prophet, as for instance Daniel, that which Ezra knew nothing of. It seems to me, on these grounds, that antecedent probability, and what is abstractedly right, is against the decree of the Council of Trent.²

But perhaps the most convincing proof of the Romish error, and of the correctness of our assertion that the Church, meaning thereby not only the English branch, but the Catholic Church while free from error, doth not apply these other books to establish any doctrine, will be an appeal to Christian antiquity. What St. Jerome saith, which I will quote verbatim presently, is confirmed generally by other authorities.

1. The 84th (85th) Canon of the so-called Canons of the Apostles—spurious, yet of venerable antiquity,—gives a list of canonical books corresponding to ours, except that it leaves out Ezra in some mss., and puts in three books of Maccabees; though these again are absent in some copies, and are probably an interpolation. It also recommends the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach (*i.e.* Ecclesiasticus) as a book *out* of the Scripture canon, to be read by young beginners.³

2. Eusebius has preserved a letter of Melito, who died in

¹ It is remarkable that the editors of the Vulgate state that they have marked what is not in the Hebrew with an obelus. See their notice before the apocryphal part of the Book of Esther, c. x.

² It should be stated, however, in modification of the foregoing, that St. Jerome says that he had seen Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) in Hebrew, under the name of παραβολαί.—Hieron. i. 938.

³ Εξωθεν δὲ [προσιστορεῖσθω ὑμῖν μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους] τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σιράχ. See Cosin, Schol. Hist. of the Canon, c. iv. § 45.

191, to Onesimus,¹ in which he says, that knowing his correspondent's wish to learn the exact truth about the sacred books (*τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἀκρίβειαν*), he had done his best to satisfy him, going up to the East, even to the place where all these things were done and were commemorated, and that he found the Old Testament to consist of the following books:—giving a list which exactly tallies with our own, except that after the word *παροιμία*, in some editions, occur the words ἡ *Σοφία*, which if it meant Wisdom, would take in one apocryphal book; but it has been shown that the probable reading is ἡ *Σοφία*, or ἡ καὶ *Σοφία*, that being another name by which Proverbs was known, as we can prove to be the case from other sources.²

3. Athanasius (A.D. 326), after a comparison between the heretics and the orthodox—the one as dead, the others as having the Scriptures,—and after saying that he thinks it expedient to refresh the memory of his correspondents, lest they should meet with the apocryphal books, being deceived by the similarity of their names to those of the genuine books, proceeds to a kind of paraphrase of the beginning of St. Luke:—"Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to mix up the apocryphal writing with the inspired Scripture, about which we are certainly assured, as the eye-witnesses and ministers of the word delivered to the fathers, it seemed good to me also, at the request of sincere brethren, and having learnt it from the beginning, to set forth in order the Scriptures placed in the canon, and handed down and believed to be Divine, so that each individual, if he has been deceived, may condemn his deceivers; if not deceived, may rejoice at having his recollection refreshed."³ After this solemn exordium, St. Athanasius proceeds to say that the books of the Old Testament are twenty-two, as he is told, after the number of the Hebrew letters, and his list corresponds with ours, except that he names Baruch, which Roman Catholic writers themselves reckon of less authority, and the Epistle

¹ Eusebius (iv. 26) prefaces this letter with these words:—"Melito made a catalogue of the acknowledged Scripture of the Old Testament: τῶν ὁμολογουμένων τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης γραφῶν."

² ἡ καὶ σοφία is the reading of Valesius, a Roman Catholic editor.

³ Athan. Epist. 39, vol. ii. part 1, p. 961: 'Ἐπειδήπερ τινὲς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ἑαυτοῖς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπόκρυφα, καὶ ἐπιμίξαι ταῦτα τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ γραφῇ περὶ ἧς ἐπληροφόρημεν, καθὼς παρέδοσαν τοῖς πατράσιν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου· ἔδοξε καί μοι, προτραπέντι παρὰ γνησίων ἀδελφῶν, καὶ μαθόντι ἄνωθεν, ἕξῃς ἐκθέσθαι τὰ κανονιζόμενα.

of Jeremy. "These," he says, "are the fountains of salvation; in these alone is the teaching of religion made known unto men. Let no one add to these."

4. Epiphanius (A.D. 368) tells us that the books of the Old Testament are comprised in four Pentateuchs and two books over, corresponding to the twenty-two Hebrew letters; and then he gives a list as we have them, neither more nor less.¹

5. Gregory Nazianzen (A.D. 370) has left some iambics, in which an exact list is given of the canonical books as we have them, and ending with these lines:—

*ἀρχαίας μὲν ἔθηκα δύο καὶ εἴκοσι βιβλους,
τοῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων γράμμασιν ἀντιθέτους.²*

6. Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, an intimate friend of Gregory Nazianzen, wrote an epistle to Seleucus in iambic verse, in which he incidentally gives a list of the canonical books, also exactly tallying with ours, and adds that some include in the list the Book of Esther, meaning probably the apocryphal sequel to the book, as the canonical portion is commonly included in Ezra.³

The chief authority alleged upon the other side is St. Augustine, who in one passage gives a list of the canon of Holy Scripture, in which all the books are numbered as in the Vulgate;⁴ but in the sentence immediately preceding, he had expressly warned his readers of a distinction between canonical and uncanonical Scriptures, between those of doubtful and undoubted verity, between those of universal and those of partial acceptance. Moreover, in other passages he uses language which virtually rejects the books which we deem apocryphal, either generally or individually.⁵

So much for private writers; we turn now to the testimony of Councils of the Church.

The Council of Laodicea, which was not earlier than 320, nor later than 370, in its fifty-ninth canon forbids private Psalms and uncanonical books (*ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς ἢ βιβλία οὐ κανόνιστα*) to be read in church, *ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης*. And the list that follows in the sixtieth canon of the books of the Old Testament that

¹ Epiph. de Mens. et Pond. sec. 4, vol. ii. p. 161, cp. Haer. i. 6, vol. i. p. 19.

² Greg. Naz. l. i. Carm. xxxiii. vol. ii. p. 98 (edit. Paris, 1511).

³ Amphilochius, ap. Greg. Naz. vol. ii. p. 190.

⁴ August. de Doctr. Christ. ii. 8.

⁵ See Cosin, Schol. Hist. of the Canon, c. vii. sec. 80, 81.

should be read exactly corresponds with ours.¹ The canons of this Council were confirmed by the Sixth Council of Constantinople in 681.²

At a Council of Carthage, the third according to the Roman Catholic writers, in 397, but more probably the sixth, in 419,³ a decree was made, settling what Scriptures should be read in the church, and which were canonical. In this list are included several of the apocryphal books, but not the Maccabees nor Baruch; so that it does not prove enough for the Roman Catholics. This canon is probably to be understood as giving to the Apocrypha the same sort of authority as we saw was given it by St. Augustine, placing it above all other books, and in a position inferior only to the Bible.

All this evidence, even after allowing due weight to the fact that one of the witnesses, St. Athanasius, gives some countenance to two books, Baruch and Jeremiah's Epistle, in which he is unsupported by other writers, goes to establish our Article.

I will now give you the passage from St. Jerome, alluded to in the Article:—"As therefore the Church reads Judith and Tobit, and the books of the Maccabees, but doth not receive them amongst canonical Scriptures, so these two books" (he is speaking of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, or Jesus the Son of Sirach), "the Church may read for the edification and instruction of the people, but not to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines."⁴ This passage is full to the purpose, both as to what we may and what we may not do. The truth of our position is satisfactorily proved, and the untenableness of the Tridentine decree.

In conclusion it may be useful to show the order in which the Latin Vulgate places the books. From Genesis to Nehemiah the order is the same as in our Bible, then as follows:—

¹ Cosin, *Schol. Hist. of the Canon*, c. vi. sec. 59. The ordinary date for this Council is 364. See Richard, *Analysis Conciliorum*, i. 289.

² Cosin, c. vii. sec. 104, Richard, i. 676.

³ The canon in question contains a reference to Pope Boniface, who did not succeed to the See till more than twenty years later than this third Council of Carthage. See Cosin, c. vii. sec. 82.

⁴ Hieron. *Prol. in libr. Salom. ad Chromat. et Heliod.* vol. i. p. 398: "Sicut ergo Judith, et Tobit, et Machabaeorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit, sic et haec duo volumina legat ad aedificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem Ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam." It was probably after the list apparently so authorized by St. Jerome that the list of apocryphal books was framed in the Articles of 1562, containing only 3 and 4 of Esdras, Wisdom, Jesus the Son of Sirach, Judith, Tobias, and Maccabees 2.

Tobias.
 Judith.
 Esther.
 Job.
 Liber Psalmorum.
 Proverbia Salomonis.
 Ecclesiastes.
 Canticum Canticorum.
 Liber Sapientiae.
 Ecclesiasticus.
 Isaia.

Jeremias.
 Baruch.
 Ezekiel.
 Daniel (with the Song of the Three
 Children, in c. 3, and Susanna
 and Bel and the Dragon as cc.
 13 and 14).
 Osee—Malachias (as with us).
 Machabaeorum primus.
 Machabaeorum secundus.

NOVI TESTAMENTI LIBRI,

(*As in our Bible.*)

Oratio Manassae.
 Esdrae tertius.
 Esdrae quartus.

Coming now to the last sentence in the Article, I would refer you, for a comprehensive, learned, lucid, and compendious account of the canonical books of the New Testament, to Westcott's General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament during the First Four Centuries, published in 1855.

The meaning of the term "commonly received" will best be understood by comparing it with the concluding words of the second paragraph—"of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church;" the stress being on the last word, the *Church*,—the great body, that is, of the faithful. In some cases we do not find certain books of the New Testament received into the early canon of particular Churches, but this was because they had not yet been heard of there, had not yet reached them. As soon as, taking all the circumstances into account, they could have circulated with their proper evidence, they were everywhere received. This explanation may suffice as to the meaning of the Article. We might, of course, set about examining this question; but considering that it is not in controversy at present between ourselves and the great opponents who were mainly contemplated by the Thirty-nine Articles, nor indeed amongst any sect of Christians at present, whatever their diversities of opinion may be, it seems unnecessary to examine the question now. It must be borne in mind, however, by those who wish for further satisfaction hereafter (and I will venture to say that the more extensive and searching the inquiry, the more satisfactory will be the confirmation of the Church's view on this matter). I will just mention that there are seven parts of the New Testament which were not universally accepted by all early Christians as individuals, though as soon as known

they were universally admitted in the Church. These are Hebrews, St. James, 2 Peter, 2 John, 3 John, St. Jude, Apocalypse.

I will also mention that there were divers spurious Gospels, which by their rejection illustrate the principles on which the genuineness of others was admitted. Also that the Pastor of Hermas and the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians were at first read in the Churches.

Nor can I conclude without remarking what a great practical corruption has been admitted into the Church of Rome, in not reading the Scriptures openly in a tongue generally understood, and in discouraging the reading of the Scriptures. The consideration of this must be reserved till we come to Article xxiv.; and here I must content myself with saying that the first Christians did the very reverse: they read them openly, and encouraged their reading, translated them, and did their utmost to spread the knowledge of them universally.

ARTICLE VII.

ARTICULUS VII.

De Veteri Testamento.

TESTAMENTUM *Vetus Novo contrarium non est, quandoquidem tam in Veteri quam in Novo, per Christum, qui unicus est Mediator Dei et hominum, Deus et homo, aeterna vita humano generi est proposita. Quare male sentiunt, qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt. Quanquam lex a Deo data per Moſen (quoad ceremonias et ritus) Christianos non astringat, neque civilia eius praecepta in aliqua republica necessario recipi debeant, nihilominus tamen ab obedientia mandatorum quae moralia vocantur, nullus quantumvis Christianus est solutus.*

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

THE *Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.*

IN the edition of 1552 this Article was divided,—the former part, down to “transitory promises,” forming the Sixth, and the remainder a portion of the Nineteenth Article, which ended with the following additional clause:—“Wherefore thei are not to be harkened vnto, who affirme that holie Scripture is geuen onlie to the weake, and do boaste themselues continually of the spirit, of whom (thei sai) thei haue learned soche thinges as thei teache, although the same be most euidently repugnaunt to the holie Scripture.” In other respects the several Latin and English editions are substantially alike.

The object of this Article is to point out the connexion and the difference between the Old and New Testaments. The proper and complete fulfilment of this object requires great care and great knowledge. The errors which have sprung up in relation to the subjects involved may all be traced to an ignorance, or, at best, partial knowledge of them.

It requires a thorough knowledge of the scheme of Christianity to adjust the balance.

The Article may be divided into five propositions:—

1. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; with the proofs of this statement.

2. The fathers did not look for transitory promises.

3. The Ceremonial and Ritual part of the Mosaic law is not binding generally.

4. The Political part of the same law is not binding generally.

5. The Moral law is binding universally.

On none of these points is there any controversy between us and the Roman Catholics.

1. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New. In this proposition is involved the very important one that Christ is the only Mediator between God and man, as being God and man. The consideration of this question, incidentally introduced, must be deferred to a more convenient season. As to its bearing here, we may remark that in the Old Testament, as well as under the New, there is but one Mediator; that Moses and the prophets are not in a proper sense mediators any more than the apostles and saints under the Gospel.

The sects that may have been contemplated in this clause are the Manicheans,¹ who from their idea of two principles, of good and evil, evolved the theory that the author of evil was the author of the Old Testament, and the author of good the author of the New; the Marcionites; the Catharistae,² a branch of the Manicheans in the twelfth century; and in more modern times the Antinomians, Anabaptists and Familists,³ Mystics, Mennonites,⁴ and Libertines.⁵ In speaking of the Antinomians, we should notice that this is a relative and variable term, depending on the meaning attached to the word *νόμος*—*i.e.* either the law of Moses, or the law of Morality. The heresy seems to have arisen by a mistaken interpretation of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians.

With regard to the Anabaptists, though the derivation of their name points only to their rejection of Infant Baptism,

¹ In respect of this tenet of the Manicheans, see August. adv. Adeimantum, and Epist. 124.

² For the Catharistae, see August. de Haeres. c. 46.

³ See Hardwick, History of the Reformation, c. v. p. 291.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 280.

⁵ Against this sect Calvin wrote a treatise in 1547, calling them "Furiosam et fanaticam sectam Libertinorum."

that was only one phase of their character; and in one form or other the tendency of their teaching was to subvert both truth and discipline of every kind.

The proposition may be proved as follows:—We know that the New Testament offers everlasting life through Christ, and the Article asserts that the Old Testament offers the same; and if so, then the Old Testament has the same main object,—we do not say equally developed, nor that it has not other objects besides. They are not contrary to each other in the only point in which they can be compared. There are, of course, points in which they differ,—*e.g.* in external symbols and sacraments; in the manner in which Christ was signified—prospectively in the one, historically in the other; in the extent of their objects—the Old Testament being for the Jews, the New Testament for all. Yet though differing in circumstance, they agree in the substance of their teaching.

In the first place, we speak of the Old Testament as a whole, extended over one thousand years. We do not speak of any isolated book alone, or any epoch,—not even of the five books of Moses. This observation would seem to meet an objection which might otherwise appear important, and which is at all events so important as to deserve notice. It may be said that everlasting life by Jesus Christ is not offered by Moses, inasmuch as no express mention is made by him of everlasting life or of a future state; and this may be alleged without at all implying that the Jews did not believe in a future state. It is the more necessary to notice this, because it has been made the basis of an argument in one of the most celebrated works in the English language, *The Divine Legation of Moses*. Bishop Warburton, the author of that work, adopts this method of proof in order to show that Moses could only have depended upon immediate Divine agency for the sanction of his law. All other legislators of old (as he proves by a most learned induction) endeavoured to enforce their laws by reference to future rewards and punishments. Moses did not; but he depended upon the Theocracy to enforce them instead. Some degree of truth there is doubtless in this argument; but it is carried by the learned author too far. When he attempts to show that throughout the Old Testament there is no reference to a future state of rewards and punishments, he is palpably in very great error, as has been fully proved by other writers. With respect to the Pentateuch there is so far truth in his statement, that a future state is not appealed to as a sanction for the Mosaic law; but those who say that there is no allusion

to a future life forget that it is implied in the very story of Enoch's translation; and, moreover, they contradict our Lord Himself, whose argument you will remember, derived from the words "I am the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob;" since "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living."¹ It may perhaps be correct to say that a future state lay hidden in the Pentateuch, discoverable as soon as the fuller light of the Gospel should be reflected back upon it.

The traditions of the heathen on the subject point to a common primitive tradition; and at all events, though it may be granted that the books of Moses do not dwell much upon a future life, yet no one can doubt that Christ is foreshadowed and promised in the Mosaic law; and though the character and office of Christ and the final end of His coming was generally unknown to the people at large, yet there were chosen men who were permitted to see that in some way the future Messiah would be instrumental in saving the world. The expression in this first proposition is this: "Everlasting life is offered to mankind." This is exactly consonant to the truth with respect even to the Pentateuch. It is there—not at once discovered, but discoverable,—clearly read therein by us, and dimly, though for the time sufficiently, foreseen by the old Fathers. This is a sufficient answer to the preliminary objection.

To go properly through the scriptural proof of this proposition, we should examine every type and every prophecy in the Old Testament. The following selection will however be sufficient.

Gen. iii. 15 was always considered prophetic of the victory of the Messiah over Satan, and may be compared with Rev. xii. 9.

Gen. v. 22. Enoch's translation implies the doctrine of a future life.

Gen. xii. 3: "In thee shall *all families* of the earth be blessed;" a statement only true of Christ; but repeated to Isaac in ch. xxvi. 4, and to Jacob, xxviii. 14.

Gen. xvii. 18. Isaac's sacrifice was a type of our Lord, cp. Heb. xi. 17.

Exod. iii. 6 has been already quoted as showing that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were still living after death.

Balaam's prediction, Numbers xxiv. 17, and that of Moses, Deut. xviii. 15, were always understood of the Messiah.

¹ St. Matt. xxii. 32.

Job xix. 25, 26 : "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth ; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God : " is perhaps the earliest prophecy ; and Daniel xii. 2 : " Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt," is the last.

There are many intermediate, such as Ps. ii. 7, xvi. 10, 11, xxii., xlv. 7, cii. 25, cx. 1 ; Isaiah xxvi. 19.

The account of the dry bones in Ezekiel xxxvii. is an illustration, but pointless if not founded on a fact.

These passages must suffice ; many more will occur to yourselves, and I strongly recommend you to have this object in view whenever you are reading the Old Testament. The cumulative effect of all these is irresistible in support of the argument that from the very beginning the same object was in contemplation throughout the inspired volume, varying in clearness, and of course clearer towards the end, but always there ; and it is not a little wonderful that what served to prepare the Jews for the Messiah's future coming, is more clear even to us than to them ; showing the wonderful correspondence between all the parts, and thus demonstrating the unity of the Revelation as a whole.

When we turn to the New Testament we find confirmation of the proposition in the following passages :—

St. John v. 39 : All Scriptures "testify of me ;" ver. 46, "Moses . . . wrote of me."

In Acts iii. 22, St. Peter, and in Acts vii. 37, St. Stephen, refer to Deut. xviii. 15.

Acts xiii. 23 interprets of Christ the promises made to David's seed ; and vv. 32, 33, and 38 of the same chapter show that Psalm ii. 7, and Psalm xvi. 10, 11, are prophetic of our Lord.

In Rom. iii. 21, 22 the righteousness of God, which is by faith in Jesus Christ, is spoken of as witnessed by the law and the prophets.

Gal. iii. 8 : "The Scripture . . . preached before the gospel (*προεγγεγλίσατο*) unto Abraham," making its promise to his seed, "which is Christ," ver. 16 ; and being the "schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ," ver. 24.

Hebrews xi. bears testimony throughout to the same, especially ver. 13 : "These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off."

2 Tim. iii. 15. It is the Old Testament primarily which is able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.

These New Testament passages are amply sufficient for our purpose. I do not hesitate to say that the firm belief of this proposition is of primary importance. With it we have a key to most of the difficulties of Scripture, particularly in St. Paul; without it we have laid aside the first principles of interpretation, and shall surely end in Rationalism; this rejection of the Old Testament having been one of the proximate causes of Rationalism in the German Protestant Church. The Gospel is the Law consummated and fulfilled; the Law is the Gospel anticipated.

Proposition 2. "The fathers looked for something more than transitory promises." The difference between this proposition and the last is that in that we state that everlasting life was offered; in this that it was accepted in the same sense. The latter is an inference from the former; the first proposition proved is a step towards the proof of the second.

We should observe the cautiousness of this latter sentence. It does not affirm that the fathers assured themselves of eternal life by Jesus Christ, or that they had distinct conceptions of the means; but they looked indefinitely beyond the visible state of things to some Person who should save them.

There is an antecedent probability in favour of the proposition. Those who were instrumental in offering to mankind these promises could hardly be ignorant altogether of the nature of the offer. The fathers were so instrumental. Could Abraham have confined himself to the notion that the promises pointed only to his posterity, enjoying a land flowing with milk and honey? or Jacob use the word 'pilgrimage' in reference to his life on earth? or could Moses take it for granted that all these signs and wonders had reference only to the perishable land of Judea?

Still stronger evidence is found in the language of David and the Prophets, *e.g.* Ps. xxxix. 12, "I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were;" cxix. 19, "I am a stranger in the earth."

Proofs in the New Testament are found with respect—

(1.) To Abraham, St. John viii. 56, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it and was glad."

(2.) To Moses, St. John v. 46, compared with Acts iii. 22 and vii. 37.

(3.) To David, Acts ii. 31, "He seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ."

(4.) To the Fathers collectively, Acts iii. 24, "All the prophets . . . have likewise foretold of these days;" xiii. 32, St. Paul, at Antioch in Pisidia, speaks of "the promise which

was made unto the fathers ;" 1 St. Peter i. 10-12, " Of which salvation the prophets have enquired and searched diligently," etc. Compare Rom. xvi. 25, 26, and Heb. xi. throughout, especially verses 13, 16.

Proposition 3. "The law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, does not bind Christian men." With this proposition begins that part of Article VII. which was Article XIX. in the edition of 1552. To understand it fully a close acquaintance with the ritual of the Mosaic law is necessary, involving careful study of Leviticus, without which much of the New Testament is unintelligible, as, for instance, the greater part of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The knowledge of the law of liberty is impossible without knowing first the law of bondage, with its multifarious rules about sacrifices and offerings, purifications, things unclean, leprosy, and the like.

That there should be at some time a change, and that the Mosaic law was not to be eternal, had been foretold by Jeremiah, as quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews :¹ " Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah : not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt,"² etc.

Moreover there were physical impossibilities of the ceremonial law becoming universal. The single instance may suffice of the impossibility of all the male inhabitants of the world assembling three times a year³ in the place where the Lord should choose to place His name there, whereas while the worshippers of Jehovah were confined within the limits of Palestine this presented no serious difficulty. Yet, though the ancients could not form an idea of what this meant, an universal extension of true religion is nevertheless contemplated in the Old Testament, as in Psalms ii. and cx. ; Isa. ii. 2 ; Mal. i. 11 ; Isa. xi. 9 ; Habak. ii. 14.

In the New Testament, the Council of Jerusalem absolutely refused to enforce circumcision amongst the Gentiles,⁴ and the absence of this fundamental rite carried the principle. Further injunctions and declarations to the same effect are found in Gal. iii. 24, 25, iv. 3, 9, 10 ; Col. ii. 16, 17 ; Heb. vii. 12, viii. 8, 13, ix. 9-12, x. 1.

Proposition 4. "The civil precepts of the Mosaic law ought not of necessity to be received in any commonwealth."

¹ Hebrews viii. 7.

² Jer. xxxi. esp. vv. 31-34.

³ Exod. xxiii. 14, 17 ; Deut. xvi. 16.

⁴ Acts xv. 24 ; cp. xxi. 21.

The probability of this proposition will be manifest when we consider the peculiar nature of many of these precepts, well adapted for the Jews in their isolation, and especially as a protection against idolatry, but ill suited for universal adoption. Such are the laws respecting property; the sabbatical year, in which no land was to be tilled;¹ the year of jubilee, in which all inheritances were to return to their original owners;² so that by this kind of agrarian law the whole of the land was inalienable for ever—provisions that could only escape being injurious to the Hebrew commonwealth by the special interposition of God;³ the law of witchcraft;⁴ those directly against idolatry;⁵ the laws of war, whether we look at the exceptions to general obligation of military tenure,⁶ or to the injunctions to utterly exterminate their enemies.⁷ With regard to this last point, the history of the Covenanters and Anabaptists will supply instances of the misapplication of the principles of war, in literal obedience to the law of Moses, which show that the danger contemplated in the Article is not an imaginary one.⁸ Lastly, the law of divorce, as given by Moses, is stated by our Lord Himself to have been suited to the special difficulty of the times, so that in this respect the Mosaic law is at issue with both the ante-Mosaic and the post-Mosaic decrees of God.⁹

And this view of the general subject we find confirmed by several passages in the New Testament, as, for instance, Acts xvi. 37, xxii. 25; Rom. xiii. 1, 4; Tit. iii. 1; 1 St. Pet. ii. 13, 14—in all of which, and many other passages, the principle is taken for granted: nothing is said of obedience throughout the world to the municipal part of Moses' law; but obedience is everywhere enjoined to the law of the respective countries under consideration.

Proposition 5. "The Moral Law is universally binding on all Christian men;" or, as the Article expresses it, "No Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called Moral." The expression, "called" moral, may at first sound singular, as if they could be so called without being moral; but it means simply those which are technically called moral by theologians,—moral as contradistinguished, not from religious command-

¹ Lev. xxv. 3, 4.² *Ib.* ver. 10.³ *Ib.* ver. 21.⁴ Exod. xxii. 18.⁵ Lev. xx. 27.⁶ Deut. xx. 5, etc.⁷ Deut. vii. 2; cp. Josh. vi. 17, 18; 1 Sam. xv. 3.⁸ On this subject generally, see Lowman's Civil Government of the Hebrews.⁹ Deut. xxiv. 1; cp. St. Matt. xix. 7-9.

ments, with which they coincide; but from ceremonial or civil regulations.

With regard to the signification of this proposition, it is manifest that it either alludes to the law of Moses or it does not; and if not, then the moral commandments referred to must be either Gospel morality or eternal law. Whichever view of the intention of the Reformers is correct, it is equally true that no Christian is free from obedience to these commandments. For take the case, first, that the proposition does not refer to the Mosaic law, taken in its widest sense, as the law in force throughout the Old Testament,—in other words, that it does not allude to God's revealed will prior to the Gospel; then (since to take the other remaining supposition, that the clause alludes to Gospel morality—that is, Christian virtue—would be to attribute nonsense to the compilers, for it would be what is called an identical proposition to say that “no Christian is free from obedience to Christian morality,”—the very term Christian implies it, as a Mahometan is bound by the law of Mahomet) it remains that it must mean those religious rules of conduct which are part of the law of nature,—such, for instance, as obedience to parents, justice, mercy, honesty, adherence to truth, forbearance to injure our fellow-creatures, and the like; and in this sense the proposition in the Article is self-evident, for nothing can repeal these rules but a total change in our moral nature. These rules are eternal and unchangeable principles, originating in God's good pleasure, prior to every system of ethics, irrespective of any consideration of utility, or personal or social advantage resulting from them; abstractedly true, and right, and fitted to our nature; witnessed by the instinctive whisperings of conscience even in our fallen state: therefore as long as our nature remains unchanged, these principles which are specially adapted to it must be unchangeable too.

Therefore if the proposition alludes to those moral rules—which were prior to the Old Testament, and independent of it, though identical with it,—it is self-evident that no Christian is free from obedience to those rules.

And now take the other alternative—which is much the most likely,—that the English Reformers meant to allude to the moral laws of the Old Testament. I say it is most likely, first, because it agrees with the scope of the whole Article; and secondly, because this sense brings the Article into collision with an error which was then already widely spread, and which attained its greatest height in the following century, the Antinomian heresy—a heresy originating in a

mistaken view of St. Paul's language about the law, and of his arguments against trusting in our works, and which went the length of saying not only that the ritual and municipal laws of Moses were respectively abrogated, but the moral part also; indeed, some went so far as to deny the obligation of all morality, even that kind which I just alluded to—the morality of the law of nature. Having this heresy before them, it would have been most unlike our admirable Reformers if they had not noticed and refuted it. Accordingly the proposition we are considering is appended to a declaration that “the Old Testament is not contrary to the New”—it stands also as the *ἀπόδοσις* or proposition consequent opposed to *πρότασις*, in a sentence which does allude to the law of Moses as touching ceremonies and rites, and to the civil precepts of the same law, as neither of them binding on Christians—therefore the only logical supposition is that it alludes to another part of the Old Testament, clearly not included in the other two divisions, the ritual and the civil, and yet certainly traceable throughout—in other words, the moral commandments of the Old Testament, more especially that part of it comprised in the books of Moses.

Now these commandments may either mean, first, the moral principles of human action scattered through the Old Testament; or, secondly, those collectively which are concentrated, as virtually comprising all, in the Ten Commandments. I believe it means the latter, as is shown by the word *mandata* as distinguished from what had gone before, the *lex caeremonialis* and the *praecepta civilia*.

We now come to Scripture proofs—and first, to take the first of these, meaning that something of the Mosaic law was to be retained under the Christian dispensation, a general impression might be derived from texts like these: St. Matt. v. 17, 18; Rom. iii. 31; Rom. vii. 12, 14, 16; 1 Tim. i. 8, 11; St. Matt. xxiii. 23, compared with Hosea vi. 6, which our Lord quotes.

I pass on from these general intimations that it was the intention of Christianity to retain the obligations of these duties, to the more specific case, which I believe the compilers of the Articles contemplated, the Decalogue or Ten Commandments.

In passing, let me observe that the Romanists, in order to avoid the difficulty of image-worship, get rid of the Second Commandment altogether, and, to make up the number ten, divide the Tenth into two parts.

Now that the Decalogue, in all its articles, though not

perhaps in the letter, yet according to its full spirit, is binding on Christians, has always been held in the Christian Church, and the ground is clearly not the antecedent fitness of the thing, but our Lord's own words; He expressly adopts it into the Christian religion: St. Matt. xxii. 37-40; St. Mark x. 19, "Thou knowest the commandments," compare Rom. xiii. 9; Gal. v. 14; St. James ii. 8.

What I said about the letter applies only to the Fourth Commandment. All the others must be kept in their letter and their spirit; there never could be a time when there would be more than one God; or when idolatry and image-worship would become innocent, or dishonour to God's name, or disrespect or neglect to parents, or adultery, or stealing, or murder, or false witness, or coveting. These Commandments are clearly binding upon all times and people in their full Christian extent. The Fourth Commandment is something different, for we know that the Church, acting upon apostolical authority, first allowed the seventh day to be used simultaneously with the first, and at last abrogated the seventh altogether. The reasons are obvious for this gradual abolition. It was gradual, because it was fitting that respect should be had to the praiseworthy observances of the Jews, on the same principle as St. Paul purified himself with the four men who had a vow,¹ because whoever was a member of the Jewish covenant by circumcision, was bound to keep the law, and because the apostles themselves were under that obligation; it was abolished and superseded by the first day, because its continuance longer than was necessary would have obscured the meaning of the Lord's Day, which, as the anniversary or memorial of the new creation in Christ, was as appropriate a commemoration to those who were made new creatures as the Jewish sabbath was to those under the covenant of Moses. The best way of considering the subject seems this—that the Fourth Commandment is, universally speaking, moral in substance, ceremonial in circumstances; its principle being the utility, nay, necessity, of rest and of stated seasons for religious privileges and duties—a principle of which it may be with the highest probability said that it was recognised from the time of the Creation, a sabbath having, *me judice*, been always observed in commemoration of creation, even before it was adopted and dedicated for the Jews, as a memorial to them of their peculiar covenant on their deliverance from Egypt.

In confirmation of this view we may notice the sacredness

¹ Acts xxi. 23.

of the number *seven*, even throughout the Book of Genesis—see Gen. vii. 3, 4, 10, viii. 12, xxix. 20; nor is it *a priori* likely that the obligation, with its cause, should have been suddenly introduced, as something wholly new, into the Fourth Commandment.

I should state, however, that some later writers, such as Spencer, have asserted that the Sabbath was not instituted at the Creation, but first given as a memorial to the Jews of their deliverance from Egypt; but this opinion is as groundless as it is mischievous. For that its observance was already binding upon the Israelites as a recognised duty may be shown, first, by the words of institution in Gen. ii. 2, 3; and secondly, by comparing Exodus xvi. with Exodus xix. and xx. The law, including the Fourth Commandment, is first given after their arrival at Sinai, in the third month; yet previously to that, in the interval between that third month and the night of their departure out of Egypt, manna had been sent as their food; the manna kept till the morning had become corrupt and bred worms; yet on the sixth day they gathered twice as much without any evil consequence; “and Moses said unto them, This is that which the Lord hath said, To-morrow is the rest of the Holy Sabbath of the Lord.”¹ No surprise was then expressed, as there would have been if a novel institution had then been introduced without any reason being assigned.

But though on these grounds the commandment is binding in principle, it must be interpreted in a sense consistent with that change which has adapted it to Christianity, as a day set apart for devotion, public and private, for the reading of the Scriptures, for quiet, and consideration for the comfort and rest and edification of our servants; all this not in a Judaical sense, which no one attempts to follow up literally,—otherwise it would be wrong to walk more than a mile on Sundays,—but in a Christian, spiritual, conscientious manner as before God. I think myself that it is better to call our holy day not *ἀπλῶς* “Sabbath,” but either “the Christian Sabbath,” or still better, “the Lord’s Day.” The names by which the day was known in the primitive Church were, “the Lord’s Day,” “Sunday,” “the first day of the week,” “the day of breaking bread,” from the Holy Communion always taking place then. The proofs of its early observance are, first, the fact that the apostles in the Bible are often said to meet on this day for Divine service, see Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Rev. i. 10. To this day also

¹ Exod. xvi. 23.

Pliny probably alludes when he says, "Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem," etc.¹ Plain allusion will also be found to this day in early fathers, as in St. Ignatius (A.D. 101) ad Magnesios, c. 9: "No longer observing sabbaths, but living a life in accordance with the Lord's Day;"² and Irenæus (A.D. 184), according to Eusebius, maintains that the mystery of the Lord's Resurrection should be celebrated only on the Lord's Day.³ Justin Martyr (A.D. 140) has a passage illustrative of Pliny's description, in which he says that "we all meet together on the day called Sunday, on which day God, having changed darkness and matter, created the world, and on the same day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead."⁴ And Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 194) speaks also of the Lord's Day as a well-known festival;⁵ and Tertullian (A.D. 200) alludes more than once to Sunday as a day of Christian joy, and says that on account of this observance, the heathens falsely charged the Christians with being worshippers of the sun.⁶ He also alludes to the prohibition to fast or to kneel on the Lord's Day.⁷ He also speaks of Sabbaths and Lord's Days as distinguished from each other in the same context.⁸ Origen says that manna was rained down from heaven on the Lord's Day, and not on the Sabbath, showing that even then the Lord's Day was preferred before the Sabbath.⁹ Again, the first Christian emperors enjoin the observance; Constantine forbids lawsuits, or payment of taxes, or public business, except the manumission of slaves, and actual cases of necessity, to be carried on on Sundays;¹⁰

¹ Plin. Ep. x. 97.

² Μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν [ζωὴν] ζῶντες: where if ζῶην is genuine, it probably is cognate acc. after ζῶντες.

³ Euseb. v. 24. 9: 'Ο Εἰρηναῖος . . παρίσταται μὲν τῷ δεῖν ἐν μόνη τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστήριον.

⁴ Justin. Apol. p. 98: Τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, κ.τ.λ.

⁵ Clem. Alex. Strom. vii.: Κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ . . τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων.

⁶ Tertull. Apol. c. 16: "Aeque si diem solis laetitiae indulgemus, alia longe ratione ac religione solis:" cp. ad Nationes, i. 13. Alii solem Christianum Deum aestimant, quod innotuerit ad Orientis partem facere nos precationem, vel die solis laetitiam curare.

⁷ Tertull. de Corona Mil. c. iii., Die Dominico jejuniū nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare.

⁸ Id. de Jejuniiis. c. 15. Exceptis scilicet sabbatis et Dominicis.

⁹ Origen. Hom. in Exod. ii. p. 154, &c. Quod si ex divinis Scripturis hoc constat, quod die Dominica Deus pluit manna de caelo, et in Sabbato non pluit, intelligant Judaei, jam tum praelatam esse Dominicam nostram Judaico Sabbato.

¹⁰ Cod. Theod. de Feriis, ii. 8. 1.

and he is followed by several of his successors, one of whom, Theodosius the Great, forbade the exhibition of spectacles or games in the Theatre on the Lord's Day.¹ Eusebius states that Constantine obliged his army to rest from military exercises on this day; those who were Christians he compelled to repair to Church, whilst he made those who were heathens go on that day into the fields and worship the Supreme God in a set form of words.² In the Justinian Code there is a law forbidding all working at any art or trade, except in cases where such work was necessary for husbandmen.³ Honorius commanded the clergy and judges to visit the prisons on that day.⁴

The councils of the Church are also very express in commanding the observance of the Lord's Day, but it would take us too long to consider them, and we may conclude with the passage from Justin Martyr, already referred to. "We all meet together," he says, "on Sunday, because on that day God, having changed darkness and matter, first created the world, and on the same day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead."⁵

Enough has been said to show that the observance of the Fourth Commandment is, in this Christian sense, binding upon Christians; but we had seen this of the other nine Commandments, therefore we conclude that the whole Decalogue is obligatory, and therefore in its widest sense no one is freed from the obligation of the commands which are called moral: or in words, the Old Testament is a part of the rule of faith embodied in practice.

¹ Cod. Theod. xv. 5, 5.

² Eus. de vit. Constant. iv. 18, 19, 20.

³ Cod. Justin. iii. 12, 3.

⁴ Cod. Theod. ix. 3, 7.

⁵ Justin. Apol. pp. 97, 98. Lond. 1722. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεός, τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας, κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη.

The foregoing passages may be found in Bingham's *Origines Eccles. B. xx. c. 2*. See also Hessey's *Bampton Lectures on Sunday*; *Lectures 2 and 3*.

ARTICLE VIII.

ARTICULUS VIII.

De Tribus symbolis.

SYMBOLA tria, Nicenum, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolorum appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt, et credenda, nam firmissimis Scripturarum testimoniis probari possunt.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the Three Creeds.

THE three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

ON comparing the three editions of 1552, 1562, and 1571 in respect of this Article, we find that it is identical in all of them with this only difference, that in the editions of 1552 and 1562 the word Apostolicum was read Apostolorum, this last being substituted by Bishop Jewel, the authorized corrector of the last edition.

The Creed, derived of course from *credo*, the first word of it in Latin, is in some European languages still called Credo: in Greek it is *κανὼν* or *σύμβολον*. *Κανὼν* we have already explained: *σύμβολον* is variously interpreted: either in reference to the story that each of the Apostles contributed (*συνέβαλεν*) a sentence; or as meaning a watch-word, *tessera*, password, such as that which was given to those who were initiated into any mystery. Any one of these senses may be taken. The word Symbol with us conveys no idea of a creed; but with the Germans it does: the term "symbolik," "symbolical books," applying even to modern articles of faith.

Now the necessity for creeds arose in this way. The first principle of the bond between Christians was by Christ's own appointment to be unity; unity in faith and in practice and in the essentials of worship. The early Christians, so long as they were mindful of the exhortations of our Lord and His Apostles, could not recognise the soundness of that false principle of modern Liberalism, that, provided you keep your difference of opinion to yourself, and do not

intermeddle with others, it is a matter of indifference what you hold; or even that more specious form of error embodied in the words of Pope:—

“For modes of faith let graceless bigots fight,
His can’t be wrong, whose life is in the right.”¹

The only basis of all real religion is truth: involuntary error or ignorance may be, we trust, pardoned: but God hateth whatsoever maketh or loveth a lie in any subject-matter: still more when it regards God Himself. There is a right and a wrong, a truth and a falsehood in everything; and each individual is bound to hold the truth as far as may be. If any one doubt this, there is an end of all reasoning; this must be an acknowledged precept of Christian morality, a postulate without which all discussion of such matters is vain.

This first principle of all religion, as it regards individuals, taken singly, is not altered when the individuals are collected into a religious society: they must now collectively avoid error and pursue truth. But how is this to be attained, unless they agree to speak the same thing? and unless they settle some common expression of truth as the condition of communion? Even if a tacit understanding of points of agreement would suffice for the original members, still every new convert, and the whole of the succeeding generation must be ignorant of what the terms of communion, or in other words, the fundamental truths were, unless they were taught, and how could any man teach authoritatively these truths unless there were some fixed and definite form in which all were agreed? So that *a priori* the expediency of creeds is established upon probable grounds. Upon these principles the Apostles and their successors as a matter of fact acted. Admission into the Christian covenant was preceded by a confession of faith: at first simple in form, though implying all that was subsequently added (such as the confession of the Ethiopian eunuch, Acts viii. 37), and this was called the Baptismal Creed. This might at first be very short; so long as the oral teaching of the Apostles could be auxiliary to its full meaning, much would not be necessary. But in point of fact we have evidence that the Apostles’ Creed was, excepting one or two Articles, very early received. And in process of time, as the Church increased, and the Apostles and other inspired men were withdrawn, doubts might naturally arise as to portions of the

¹ Essay on Man, Ep. iii. 305.

Christian faith, and in order to clear these doubts up or to anticipate them, the Church for the time being would add further definitions; at first confined to the locality where the doubt or the heresy had originally shown itself, but gradually, as the knowledge of the danger spread, or rather as the heresy itself spread, the same form, or a similar one, would be adopted elsewhere, with or without the sanction of a general council: a process which was much facilitated by the rapid and regular communication which then subsisted between churches, and of which we, with all our boasted civilisation and rapidity of national intercourse, can hardly form an idea. The local origin of some of these creeds, or of portions of them, may be traced in the variety of form which the creeds assumed under different circumstances, specimens of which may be seen in Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica* and even in Welchman on the Articles. The unity which subsists under all these varieties may be easily seen by comparing them;¹ and it is further confirmed by the fact that in a very short time the two Creeds were universally received throughout the Church, so as to be a complete instance and illustration of Vincentius's rule, "*quod semper et ubique et ab omnibus*," *semper* in substance and meaning, *ubique et ab omnibus* ultimately even in form. I must however remind you of the great exception to this universal adoption in the refusal of the Greek Church to admit the words *Filioque*, which we have already noticed under Article V.

From what has been said it will be seen that the Creeds are in fact the record of the history of heresy. They originated in their simple form from the necessity of distinguishing Christians from heathens and Jews; but as the frontiers of Christendom extended the dangers from external enemies diminished; but the errors of those within, of those nominally Christian, became more prominent, and the Creed which was sufficient barrier against the Jew and Gentile was not adequate to the new forms of error which were continually devised by false brethren: and so continual additions became necessary, and the Creeds grew to the form in which they were finally handed down to us: the additions not being novelties or developments, but old truths defined and expressed in order to guard against innovations of doctrine. Every heresy then is opposed by a corresponding truth, and

¹ See Heurtley's distinction between the Eastern and the Western Creeds. The basis of the Eastern varieties was the Nicene Creed, of the Western, the Apostles' Creed; giving rise to separate lines from a very early time. In the East the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed is now the sole exponent of the faith.

thus, arguing from contraries, the Creeds are in fact the records of heresy : and he only can thoroughly explain them (I do not mean thoroughly prove them, for that is principally done out of Scripture) who knows thoroughly the heresies which they are meant to confront.

But it may be said, or rather it is too often said, "Why cannot we content ourselves with the simpler form which was sufficient for the early Church? The Church then, it may be said, did very well without the full Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed, and why should not we? What harm would there be in rejecting the two later Creeds if we retain the Apostles' Creed?" To this it may be answered, first, that the early Church did not do very well without adding something even to the Apostles' Creed, or the rudiments of the Nicene Creed :¹ that it did in fact add *pro re nata* to the first draft of the Apostles' Creed, as we shall presently see; and subsequently, that the very thing which led to the convocation of the Council of Nice was the inconvenience which the want of some recognised additional barrier against Arius had occasioned, and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed is in fact the expression of the want felt at that time; secondly, that our Church *has* given a greater prominence to the Apostles' Creed, the simpler form, not only inasmuch as she repeats it oftener in her services than the other two, but because she has retained it as the Baptismal Creed, has directed this alone to be learnt in the Catechism, and this alone to be the basis of inquiry respecting the faith of the candidates for baptism in the Baptismal service; but while the Church of England is thus moderate in what she exacts as the terms of Communion, she is, as usual, equally careful not to compromise any portion of the faith, or countenance any known form of error. After ascertaining that all the three Creeds may be proved by most certain warrants of holy writ, she has not only in this Article asserted that on this ground they "ought thoroughly to be received and believed:" but she has given the best practical proof that she does receive and believe them by inserting them into the Book of Common Prayer, etc.; and by the place which she assigns to them, the one being associated with the very highest act of worship and devotion, the Communion Office, the other being used in direct reference to the Holy Days of the Church; and lastly, by the subscrip-

¹ See as early as A.D. 180, the Creed of St. Irenaeus, born and brought up in Asia Minor, acquainted with St. Polycarp of Smyrna, and afterwards Bishop of Lyons, so that he may be looked upon as a connecting link between the Eastern and Western Churches.

tion of the Clergy to the Thirty-nine Articles, including Article VIII.

But even supposing, for argument's sake, that simplicity were, in all ages of the Church and under all circumstances, most desirable, there would still be the most weighty reasons for our retaining the three Creeds as they have come down to us. For it is a very different thing to determine what may have been originally possible, and what is now consistent with the safety of Scriptural truth; it is a very different thing to have and to abide by Creeds already officially accepted, whether simple or not in themselves; or, *per contra*, to start entirely afresh; it is a very different thing for a Church to abstain from accepting the later and more comprehensive formularies, and to abrogate them when once established throughout Christendom. These later Creeds are directed against specific heresies, which are matters of history, and any Church which, with a knowledge of these heresies as facts, should refuse to continue the use of the specific antidote, would naturally incur the suspicion of unsoundness in those points. It might intend to be orthodox, but in rejecting the long-established expression of orthodoxy, there would be considerable danger of losing the thing itself, the actual doctrine; or, if not danger of losing it, at least suspicion that it is lost. There can be no doubt, for instance, indeed many of the American Bishops confess it, that the Episcopal Church in the United States, in many respects one of the purest of the Apostolical Churches, and closely connected with our own, recognised by us formally as in union with our Church, has injured herself much, and subjected herself to unmerited suspicion by removing the Athanasian Creed from her Prayer-Book.

Besides this, if a Church once begins to simplify (and we must be very careful in drawing a distinction between "*simplicity*" and "*simplification*"), there is no saying beforehand where she will stop; as we see in what is called the Second Reformation lately going on in Germany. Look at Ronge's proceedings. Not content with expunging the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, he has gone on to simplify the Apostles' Creed, removing whatever appeared contrary to reason, such an Article, for instance, as "The Resurrection of the Dead." The consequence is that the whole movement in Germany, whatever may be its ultimate issue, is at present essentially realistic. This may be seen from looking at the amended versions of the Creed. According to the Wismar Confession this runs, "We believe in one God, the

Lord of heaven and earth, whose original deity is revealed in the world as Father. 2. We believe in the manifestation of His Son on earth in Jesus Christ, who is son of the Most High in the spiritual sense of the word. 3. We believe in an all-governing Spirit of Love and Wisdom, who is the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of love and truth. 4. Thus we believe in a unity of the Divine Being, in His threefold unfolding as Father, Son, and Spirit, without distinction of Three Persons in one Godhead.”¹

Of a similar tendency is the formulary that is put in the place of the Creed in Pickering’s adapted Prayer-Book (1852), though this is the more dangerous as consisting in actual quotations from Holy Scripture, its falsity consisting in suppression of the truth, and especially of all passages containing evidence of the doctrine of the Trinity.

How different does the spirit appear which regulated the Reformation in England: content with removing whatever was unscriptural and uncatholic in the Roman system of faith and worship, the Church of England was careful to retain all that remained sound and Catholic; and this is shown, as in other things, so also in this assertion, that the three Creeds, being Scriptural, that is Catholic, ought thoroughly to be received and believed.

This introduction into the origin, use, and gradual extension of creeds now brings us to the special subject of the Eighth Article. Before we enter, however, on the consideration of the Apostles’ Creed, the most ancient of all the three, it may be interesting to read the Creed of St. Irenaeus, already referred to. It runs as follows:—“The Church, dispersed throughout all the world to the extremities of the earth, received from the apostles and their disciples the belief in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, that was incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, that spake by the prophets of the dispensations of God, and the comings of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ, and His birth of a Virgin, and His suffering, and His resurrection from the dead, and His ascension into heaven in the flesh, and his coming again from heaven in the glory of the Father, to restore all things, and bring to life again all flesh of the race of man, that before Jesus Christ, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the good pleasure of the unseen Father, every knee should

¹ See an article in the English Review for June 1845, p. 497, and again pp. 502, 503.

bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess Him; and that He should pass just judgment on all things; and should send the spiritual things of wickedness, and the angels that transgressed, and became apostates, and the impious, and unjust, and lawless, and blasphemers among men, into everlasting fire; but that upon the just and pious, and on those that have kept His commandments, and continued in His love, some from the beginning, some from repentance, He may bestow incorruption, and invest them with everlasting glory.”¹

We come now to the Apostles’ Creed,² *commonly so called*. This expression, which occurs also in the rubric prefixed to the Athanasian Creed, in both instances indicates the opinion of our Church that, in their present shape, these Creeds were not strictly the composition of those whose names they bear. This is of no consequence, as what we have to inquire is not, who were the authors, but, what is the truth as embodied in the writings attributed to them. It might of course appear still more satisfactory if we could trace every word to its author; but, though this may be impossible, we are able to ascertain that the Articles of Faith are in substance what the persons respectively held, and in many parts their very words, who are named as their authors. In one point of view it may be fortunate that we are not able to trace some of the Articles so high; it prevents a superstitious reverence for the words of the Creed; and it prevents, in the case of the Apostles’ Creed, our falling into the error of confounding the Creed with Scripture, that is of placing the two on an equal footing of authority; for if the Creed had really originated as the popular story runs, then it could only be reckoned inspired in the same degree as Scripture itself. The story runs thus: It is said that soon after our Saviour’s ascension, the twelve Apostles (Matthias being one) met together, and without previous communication, propounded each a clause of the Creed; the whole body assenting to and adopting each clause as it was proposed, and subsequently ratifying the whole.

This story, besides the general and admitted fact, that the

¹ Iren. c. Haeres. i. 10, in Routh’s *Opuscula* ii. 211, and Heurtley’s *Harm. Symbol.* p. 7. The latter quotes three passages from the works of Irenaeus which may be thought to contain notices of the Creed. Of these the one in the text is the fullest; the others are found in the same treatise, iii. 4. 1 and 2; iv. 33. 7.

² It should be observed that the other Creeds were sometimes, but not commonly, called Apostolical.

main substance of the Creed was universally adopted, thus marking on the whole an identity of origin, rests only upon two foundations: 1. The general account given by Rufinus of Aquileia, to the effect that "the Apostles, when on the point of separation on their different missions, first settled a common rule for their future preaching, lest discrepancies should arise in their exposition of the faith." "Omnes igitur in uno positi, et Spiritu Sancto repleti, breve istud futuræ sibi, ut diximus, prædicationis indicium, in unum conferendo quod sentiebat unusquisque, componunt; atque hanc credentibus dandam esse regulam statuunt."¹ He adds that the name *symbolum* was given in the double sense of *indiciu*m and *collatio*. Thus far, then, there is no mention of specific clauses being contributed in order by each apostle. 2. The only witness for this alleged fact is in two sermons among the collection falsely attributed to Augustine, No. 240 and 241 in the Appendix to vol. v.: and these vary from each other, as follows:—

	SERM. 240.	SERM. 241.
I believe in God the Father Al-	St. Peter.	St. Peter.
mighty,		
Maker of heaven and earth,		St. John.
In Jesus Christ His only Son, our	St. Andrew.	St. James.
Lord,		
Who was conceived by the Holy	St. James.	St. Andrew.
Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,		
Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was	St. John.	St. Philip.
crucified, dead, and buried,		
He descended into hell, the third	St. Thomas.	St. Thomas.
day He arose again from the		
dead,		
He ascended into heaven and sit-	St. James, son of	St. Bartholomew.
teth at the right hand of God	Alpheus.	
the Father Almighty,	St. Philip.	St. Matthew.
From thence he shall come to		
judge the quick and the dead,	St. Bartholomew.	St. James, son of
I believe in the Holy Ghost,		Alpheus.
	St. Matthew.	St. Simon Zelotes.
The Holy Catholic Church,		
The Communion of Saints,	St. Simon Zelotes.	
The Forgiveness of sins,	St. Thaddæus.	St. Judas, brother
The Resurrection of the body,		of James.
	St. Matthias.	St. Matthias.
The Life everlasting.		

So that it will be seen that the two accounts do not agree even in the division of the twelve Articles; and only in

¹ Rufin. in Symbol. Apostol. c. 2; in Heurtley's De Fide et Symbolo, p. 102.

three instances (those of St. Thomas, St. Thaddaeus, and St. Matthias) agree in what they attribute to each apostle. The witness then entirely contradicts himself. But besides this palpable failure of proof, that the story is not strictly correct is shown by the various forms in which the Apostles' Creed has been handed down,¹ which would hardly have been the case, at least to this extent, if the different clauses had been directly inspired; and, secondly, by the facts that St. Thomas's contribution was said to have included the Descent into Hell, that of St. James the Less, according to one account, the Holy Catholic Church, and that of St. Simeon Zelotes the Communion of Saints, which clauses were not in the Creed till some centuries after the apostolic age.² Still, be it remembered, that whatever doubts may be entertained of the literal truth of the meeting of the Apostles and its result, they are quite consistent with the belief that there was a certain and definite "deposit" of faith established by them by common consent, and that this was the nucleus of the Apostles' Creed;³ and so what we contend for (to use St. Jude's words) is the faith which was once (*i.e.* ἀπαξ, once for all) delivered to the saints. Venerable, however, as is the antiquity, speaking generally, of this Creed, and deservedly great as is its authority, as having been so early accepted by the Church (measuring authority by Vincentius's rule), still our Church has had recourse to the only sure foundation of authority in the inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. This principle of the sole authority of Scripture as the *ultimate* rule of faith was discussed fully under the sixth Article. I need only repeat that it is embodied in the Canon de Concionatoribus, in which it is assigned as a reason for subscription to the Articles that they "are beyond all doubt collected from the sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments, and agree in all things with the heavenly doctrine which is contained in it;"⁴ this being exactly the ground on which we ground the reception of this Creed by our Church.

Now, to show from Scripture that this Creed (and the same observation will apply to the two others) "may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture," would be in fact to repeat the foregoing lectures. This may be

¹ Bingham, Orig. Eccles. B. x. cc. 3 and 4, gives a full account of the several versions.

² See Bingham, B. x. c. 3, sects. 5-7. Rufinus himself acknowledges this of the Descent into Hell, c. 18.

³ 1 Cor. viii. 6 is in itself a Creed.

⁴ Canons of 1571: in Cardwell's Synodalia, i. 127.

easily seen by comparing the several Articles of the Creed with the first five of the Thirty-Nine. "The life everlasting" of the redeemed (though not directly proved), has been legitimately assumed throughout as the assurance of our hope in Christ: it is the necessary postulate of the Christian faith, and does not require to be proved, though, of course, deducible from many well-known passages of Holy Scripture.

There remain then only two Articles of the Creed of which it is necessary to give the proof: "The Holy Catholic Church" and "the Communion of Saints."

First then of the "Holy Catholic Church," which once concluded the Creed. This affords an example of a gradual addition in the terms of the Creed. The most ancient form was in the Latin Church, "Sanctam Ecclesiam:" in the Greek *καθολικὴν* was adopted from a very early, perhaps the earliest, period. In process of time "Catholicam" was added in the Latin Creed. St. Augustine uses the expression "Credimus et sanctam Ecclesiam, utique Catholicam," "assuredly meaning the Catholic Church."¹

And to begin with the meaning of the word Church. Derived from the Greek *κυριακὴ* (kirk, church), it means originally "the Lord's house," and then the congregation worshipping there; so that we even hear of the Church in a house, as the "Church in the house of Nymphas."² The Greek word *ἐκκλησία*, which is used in Holy Scripture either for the whole Church, or for particular Churches, passes through the opposite change, signifying, according to its ordinary sense in Greek, first the assembly, and secondly the house.

Now of course thoroughly to explain in what the Church consists would take a treatise of itself, or rather a literature. Men's ideas will differ upon it, in proportion to the different ways in which it is defined. I must content myself with giving you the explanation which appears to myself, after the reflection of forty years, the most satisfactory.

First, then, the Church may be contemplated under three different aspects; not that there are really two different Churches, or three different Churches of Christ; but one and the same Church in relation to different times and circumstances. It may either be considered as, 1, the invisible Church; or, 2, the visible Church; or, 3, the mixed Church, compounded of the two former. The invisible Church is taken to include the souls of all just men, past,

¹ August. de Fid. et Symb. x. 21.

² Col. iv. 15.

present, and future, whom Christ has redeemed; it is confined to the good and faithful servants of God. The visible Church is that body of men, more or less faithful, living at the same time on earth in the outward profession of Christianity, with more or less of agreement with each other, but divided locally and externally into several communities or particular Churches. It is defined in our Nineteenth Article, which we are here to some extent anticipating, to be "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same." The visible Church is known also by the name of the Church militant (that is, not in a state of triumph, but in a state of warfare against Satan and sin), militant here on earth. The mixed Church, a subdivision that is perhaps not logical, is made up of those faithful servants made perfect, who have passed to their rest and reward; and of those faithful soldiers of Christ, as yet imperfect, who are still engaged in spiritual warfare during this mortal life; the two classes of the faithful being united into one body, really, though not apparently, by a mystical union under the one head, Christ.

This is a general view of the subject. We now proceed to consider the sense in which the word *Church* is used in the Creed. In what sense did the compilers of the two Creeds, the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds (for the Athanasian Creed takes no notice of the word), use the term *Church*. I think it best in regard to this Article of Faith to consider the two Creeds together, the clause in the Nicene Creed being manifestly only an enlarged form of the same faith. I just now said that in the Apostles' Creed, in its Latin version alone, there had been a gradual increase in the terms employed: Church, Holy Church, Holy Catholic Church. Add now, though out of their order, the terms introduced into the Nicene Creed, "one Catholic and Apostolic Church," and we have the full expansion of the doctrine to be believed. Now the word *Church* used in this connexion could not mean only the invisible Church, for the word "Catholic" is universally used in the early Christian writers as primarily applicable to the visible Church on earth, the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the earth. Nor, on the other hand, in using the word "One," is it probable that the compilers forgot that portion of Christ's one Body, which, though removed from earth, is still living in His presence, and will hereafter ever be with the Lord. The best explanation thus seems to be that what is

immediately intended in the Creeds is the Christian Church properly so called, and all the members necessarily belonging to it, considered as one body, from the first foundation; in other words, what we have called the mixed Church. You will observe that I have spoken of it as the Christian Church properly so called. My reason for saying this is that there are those who give it, and that legitimately enough if their meaning is defined, a much wider signification. In its widest possible sense it has been taken to comprehend all God's servants from the beginning of the world to the end of time, as having derived benefit, whether consciously or unconsciously, from the death and satisfaction of Christ. Some have gone so far as to include the angels, but we have no right to consider them as purchased with Christ's blood; and in this sense it of course includes, as Scripture does include, the Patriarchs and faithful men of the Old Testament; nay, also as many as in every nation fearing God, and working righteousness, are accepted with him.¹ But although it may be very right to include all these in reference to the ultimate result of the dispensation of God's mercy as a whole, yet this is hardly the meaning contemplated in the Creed, the word "Catholic" excluding not only Christian heresies, but also the legal peculiarities of the Jews. What is meant here is evidently the Christian Church properly so called.

Now, in order to show that we have to believe the Church, we must go back to Holy Scripture; and from it we can tell when this Church began. For, first, there was a time during our Saviour's stay on earth, when it did not yet exist. "Upon this rock will I build my Church;"² it is here spoken of as something future. After His ascension, we find immediately a company of the faithful assembled to the number of 120;³ a few days afterwards 3,000 souls were added on the Day of Pentecost after St. Peter's preaching;⁴ and after that "the Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved;"⁵ the mode of entering this society being baptism.⁶

The Church, then, within a few weeks of our Saviour's crucifixion, consisted of Apostles, early disciples (no doubt including the seventy, or as many of them as survived), and baptized disciples; and this is the exact model, *mutatis*

¹ Acts x. 35.² St. Matt. xvi. 18.³ Acts i. 15.⁴ Acts ii. 41.⁵ Acts ii. 47, cp. iv. 4, v. 14.⁶ Acts ii. 38, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you;" and ver. 41, "They that gladly received his word were baptized."

mutandis, of the Church ever since. At any given moment during the past eighteen centuries, we find the same identical organization; the clergy, the old members of the Church, and the newly admitted members; a body always fluctuating from the nature of the mortal elements of which it is composed, yet always (in the same sense as any civil corporation is) one and the same. Or perhaps we may adopt the analogy of the natural body of animals, always decaying, always renewed; the aggregate, the *self*, the same individual, ever remaining the same; the particles in a continual flux; the old members dying off, that is, either absorbed in the invisible Church of the faithful departed, or else cut off for ever; and new members being added; constant diminution counterbalanced and more than compensated for by constant increase. In the very nature of things such a society, perpetually expanding, could not be confined to one place, yet (if we only argue from what happens in civil society) the same principles would be naturally carried with each body of Christian emigrants, or established in each newly conquered province of Christendom; just as the Roman colonies were each of them founded on the type of the mother state, so as to form a small republic, with its several magistrates and institutions, after the pattern of the parent city. The different communities would always comprehend brethren in feeling, and in actual spiritual relationship; and these brethren thus locally and accidentally separated would, as occasion offered, give evidence of their unity and goodwill, especially through the heads of the community.

All this appears consonant to what might have been expected; and it was, in fact, exactly in this way that the Christian Church was constituted and propagated. The Churches throughout Christendom did not arise spontaneously, as each locality chanced by accident to hear of the Christian faith; but they originated without exception all from one common stock; they were all offshoots from that first assembly of the Apostles with the 120 brethren; were all "added to the Church," and so they are all sister Churches, not from common sympathy only, or even only community of faith, but also from identity of origin. No self-originated body was counted worthy to belong to this Church; they could only become Christian Churches by attaching themselves to the general succession of the Church. And the instrument by which ordinarily they were incorporated, was the Apostolical succession of ministers. The common descent of the clergy was the great bond as well as evidence of union.

To arrive, therefore, at the full idea of the Church we must shortly consider the mode adopted by God's own appointment for perpetuating everywhere this society, and by certain means keeping up the knowledge and practice of the Christian faith. This method was the setting apart a distinct order of men charged with these duties, and armed with certain powers, not simply as permanent governors of the society, but as instructors and dispensers of the Gospel privileges, men who should teach Christian truth by Scripture reading and catechetical instruction, take the lead in Christian worship, administer the two Sacraments of the Gospel, and perform the functions peculiar to their office. These pastors and stewards of God's mysteries, though designated to their office in various ways, either by the selection of an Apostle, or by the choice of their people, or by the prerogative of their temporal sovereign, or by the appointment of their predecessors, derived their spiritual authority only in one way: that is, by the delegation of powers from those who were in office before them, the outward sign and means of which commission or delegation was the imposition of hands on the part of a certain order of men specially appointed for that peculiar end. A self-originated ministry, or a new beginning of the ministry, was as much unknown in the early Church as a self-originated Church or a new beginning of the Church, independent of the first assembly of Christians, under the Apostles. The result of this continued delegation always going upwards would be to arrive at the Apostles as the first persons who receive this power of delegation from Christ himself; and in fact from the earliest times we find that this was one of the tests of the Church; and that this order of men, so set apart in their several degrees for these purposes, was from the first threefold, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the delegation being confined to the Bishops. I am not now proving that this is the right form of Church government, but I am stating it as an incontrovertible historical fact, whether right or wrong in principle, that for 1500 years there never was a Christian Church without this organization, and that the Fathers who drew up and adopted the Creeds could only understand the word Church as including, first, this common origin of the whole body, and secondly, this unbroken succession of its ministry. The notion, whether right or wrong, that a new Church may begin *de novo*, without any external relationship with existing and preceding Churches, or that any one can lawfully take the office of minister on himself, without receiving it mediately from the Apostles of Christ, is a

notion that first arose in the sixteenth century, and has the prescription of fifteen centuries without exception against it. What effect the breaking off of this succession may have upon any modern Church (which according to this we must acknowledge to be imperfectly organized), we need not inquire: we may content ourselves with thanking God that our Church has been allowed to preserve unbroken each of these successions, which though connected are really distinct: *i.e.* the continuation of the Church itself in an actual being, uninterruptedly from the first collection in the Apostles' times; and secondly, the uninterrupted succession of the order of the Clergy, from the first laying on of the Apostles' hands down to the last ordination that has taken place.

The object of what has now been said is to show that what was contemplated in early times, and even at the date of the Reformation, under the name of Church, included *ex vi termini*, especially when the attribute "Apostolic" is expressly added, these two successions. On the other characteristic but more obvious properties of a Church, we shall have occasion to speak at length when we come to the nineteenth Article, describing it as "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all things that of necessity are requisite for the same."

It now becomes expedient to consider shortly the other words of the clause as taken from the two Creeds together. The Catholic Church is *One*. This term implies unity of origin; unity in the one only Head, Jesus Christ ("other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ"¹); all who belong to the Church are said to be "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God," "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone, in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord."²

Secondly, it alludes to unity in faith, oneness in essential truth (for without truth unity is a mere name); unity in "the faith once for all delivered to the saints;"³ "one Lord, one faith, one baptism."⁴

Thirdly, unity in the Sacraments and in the essentials of public worship, as is shown by the passage just quoted, "one Baptism;" and by 1 Cor. x. 17, "We being many are

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 11.

² Eph. ii. 19-21.

³ St. Jude 3.

⁴ Eph. iv. 5.

one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread."

Fourthly, unity of hope: "Even as ye are called" (*i.e.* into the Church), "with one hope of your calling."¹

Fifthly, unity of charity: "Be of one mind one towards another;"² and again, "Let us mind the same thing,"³ and "Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,"⁴ as the early converts "were of one heart and of one soul."⁵

The whole complex notion of the unity of the Church may be summed up in our Lord's words—"Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one: as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us."⁶

I must add that there is not the smallest foundation in Scripture, nor in the history of the first six centuries, nor in the present facts of the Church, comprising as it does the Eastern as well as the Western Church, for the fiction of one visible head of the Church on earth.

The Catholic Church is *Holy*. *First*, as set apart for holiness; see 2 Tim. i. 9,—“Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling;” and 1 Thess. iv. 7,—“God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness.”

Secondly, as sanctifying; as being God's instrument for exemplifying, applying, perpetuating, the means of grace.

Thirdly, as engaging all who belong to it to the practice of a holy and religious life—"Let every one that nameth the name of Christ," *i.e.* let the whole Church, "depart from iniquity."⁷

I might mention more particulars, but the above will be sufficient for our point. It is, however, to be noticed, that though the Church (even the visible Church) is a Church holy, it by no means follows that all those contained in it, or that any single member of it, is perfect. St. Paul even himself admits his own imperfection,—“Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect;”⁸ and there must always be an admixture in the Church even of those that are bad. All that can be said of its members is that they are professors of the true faith, whether sincere or hypocritical; for we must remember that any one who no longer professes the faith is no longer in the Church: he has forfeited his baptismal privileges, he is an apostate. That

¹ Eph. iv. 4.

² Rom. xii. 16.

³ Phil. iii. 16.

⁴ Eph. iv. 3.

⁵ Acts iv. 32.

⁶ St. John xvii. 20, 21.

⁷ 2 Tim. ii. 19.

⁸ Phil. iii. 12.

this was to be expected may be shown by the parable of the tares;¹ of the net, which was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind, and they gathered the good into vessels and cast the bad away;² of the floor in which was laid wheat and chaff;³ of the marriage feast, and the man which had not on a wedding garment;⁴ of the great house, in which there were gold and silver vessels, and vessels of wood and earth.⁵

The perfect holiness of the Church is reserved for its invisible state;⁶ yet even the visible Church may be called holy, as Jerusalem when she killed the Lord was called the holy city.⁷

Catholic.—This word we have had occasion to define before; and it will therefore be less necessary to dwell upon it now. It is almost superfluous to say that the expression "Catholic Church" is not the same as "the Church of Rome." The Church of Rome, erroneous as she is, is doubtless a particular Christian Church, a branch of the visible Church on earth, but no more so than the Eastern Church, or the Church of England, or the Church in Scotland, or the Church in America, even if her grievous errors, a superabundance of bad fish in her net, do not make her less of a true branch than any of these. But the Catholic Church she neither is nor ever was. Even if her community were the most numerous in existence, this would not prove her claim to the title; for numbers, though a test of will and opinion, are no test of truth. Otherwise Noah was wrong, and Lot was wrong, and the multitude of Israel were more right in their idolatries than the seven thousand, that true remnant then of the Catholic Church;⁸ and the Mahometan religion might be thought the true one. But the fact is, that her numbers are at least equalled by the Greek communion; and if God continues to bless our own Church at home and in the colonies of the British empire, there is no saying how soon the balance of numbers might not be turned. But this is not the real question; and the fact is, that the more closely antiquity is examined, the more certain will it appear that Rome has no title to call herself the mistress and mother of Churches. This arrogance was reserved for a later age, but even then it was resisted by the Greeks. It would require a long induction to prove this, and I must reserve it for a future occasion. I do not mean to say that Rome in early times⁹ was not a

¹ St. Matt. xiii. 24-30. ⁴ St. Matt. xxii. 11. ⁷ St. Matt. xxvii. 53.

² *Ibid.* xiii. 47, 48.

⁵ 2 Tim. ii. 20.

⁸ 1 Kings xix. 18.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 12.

⁶ Eph. v. 25-27.

⁹ See Rom. i. 8,—“I thank my God . . . that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world.”

pure and very eminent Church; and as the capital of the Roman empire, her Bishop would (even before the Christian religion was adopted by the emperors) have no inconsiderable weight. After Constantine's conversion, both Rome and Constantinople enjoyed as Churches great prerogatives. But this notwithstanding, if in those days any Church would have been designated the mother of Churches, it was that of Jerusalem, which was indeed so called occasionally.¹ But the fact is, that all the Apostolic Churches, though one was founded before another, were originally equal, communicating with each other, mutually influencing each other, but all perfectly free and independent. The attempt to break this independence and usurp universal dominion, and represent herself as the Catholic Church, was the great sin of Rome, which has led probably to her other corruptions.

Bearing in mind, therefore, that the word *Catholic* is much more extensive in meaning than the "Roman Catholic" branch of the Church, we will now consider its real signification. It means *primarily*, as you know, universal, "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*;" a threefold universality as to time, place, and the great body of believers. But this universality was properly regarded as a test of the true Church, or a Church holding the whole truth in essentials, and rightly constituted in government and discipline. Hence it *secondly* came to be synonymous with "orthodox," agreeing together in the main in respect to doctrine and discipline, as opposed to heretics and schismatics. *Thirdly*, Catholic is used in respect to the universal obedience which it prescribes, including men of all conditions. *Fourthly*, Catholic is used in respect of the Church being the ordinary channel through which the means of grace are universally dispensed. All these meanings of the word are found in ancient writers; and nothing less than this is meant when we express our belief in the Catholic Church in the Creed.

Scriptural authority is found for the Church being universally diffused, in St. Matt. xxviii. 19; Psalm ii. 8; St. Mark xvi. 15; St. Luke xxiv. 47; Rev. v. 9.

For the sense of orthodox, in Eph. iv. 15—*ἀληθεύοντες*; ver. 25.

For the universal obedience enjoined, in St. Matt. xviii. 17.

For the supply of the means of grace in the Church, in Eph. iv. 15.

From what has been said, you will see that it is only

¹ As at the Council of Constantinople. Cp. St. Jerome on Ps. ii., "De Hierusalem primum fundata ecclesia totius orbis ecclesias seminavit."

from ignorance and prejudice that any one in our Church can hesitate to adopt the word Catholic. It is a word, doubtless, as we have said, that has been abused and usurped, but that is no valid argument against its use and its application to the right meaning. That it has been usurped by Rome is the very reason, not why we should give it up, but why we should resist the usurpation. And what our admirable reformers thought of it, may be seen by their acceptance of it into the Creed, and their introduction of it into the prayer for all mankind; compared with the practice of foreign reformers, who, when they use the word Catholic by itself, always mean what we call Roman Catholic; and in their German translation of the Creed have adopted the word "allgemein," universal (without including the notion of orthodoxy), from the fear apparently of implying approval of the corruptions of Rome.

Apostolical.—This word has been already explained to mean "derived from some apostle," "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone;"¹ continuing in uninterrupted succession "in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship,"² and indicating substantially, if not outwardly and under all circumstances, an agreement amongst the several Apostolic Churches.

In saying that we believe in the one only Catholic and Apostolic Church, we express our conviction not only that there is a body of religionists so called, but that it is really Christ's body, that it is animated by His Spirit, which He has promised shall be with it always, and that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it; in other words (since faith is the evidence of things not seen), we believe the invisible essence which is enshrined in the visible Church; we believe that by this means the whole visible Church militant on earth, and every Christian within it, is united spiritually with Jesus Christ, who is sitting, though unseen by us, at the right hand of God.

I remember once conversing with a Rationalist in Germany on this Article of the Creed, when he used this argument: We believe only in what is invisible; we believe in the Church, therefore the Church intended in the Creed is not the visible Church, but the invisible. In saying this he contradicted all antiquity; but, moreover, his argument was naught; for, granting that the objects of belief are unseen, we fully satisfy that condition by showing that we believe in Christ's invisible presence and in the unseen operations of

¹ Eph. ii. 20.

² Acts ii. 42.

His Spirit within the visible Church, and, again, that there are invisible members mystically united with the members of the visible Church.

There remains the Article of the "Communion of Saints." This Article came late into the Creed. Bishop Pearson has shown, in a long introduction, that it is not found in the early Creeds either of the East or West, nor in the early writers who comment on the Creed. The earliest account which we have of it is in two sermons, formerly attributed to St. Augustine.¹ This Article is evidently in connexion with the last about the Church. Now the word "Saints" signifies in the New Testament either all baptized Christians, that is, all who are saints by profession, or, secondly, those who have, by the aid of God's Spirit, actually turned the means of grace to account, who to the outward profession of Christianity have added its reality in their faith and life. The latter seems the true meaning here.

Now that such men have communion one with another, over and above the external fellowship which they have in the Word and Sacraments with all the members of the Church, may be shown thus. First, as they belong to the same mystical body they must be members one of another; "for as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."² What affects one injuriously affects all the rest, what promotes the growth and well-being of one contributes to the welfare of one and all.³

The same thing may be shown in this way. Those who have communion with the three blessed Persons in the Holy Trinity do also by virtue of that communion enjoy a mutual fellowship one with another. So St. John says, "That which we have seen and heard that we declare unto you, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς κοινωνίαν ἔχητε μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ κοινωνία δὲ ἡ ἡμετέρα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ;"⁴ and St. Paul, πιστὸς ὁ Θεός, δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν;⁵ and again, ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.⁶

Thus there is a communion between each believer and each several Person in the Trinity; and the effect of this

¹ Serm. 115 de Tempore, now Serm. cexli. in Appendix to vol. v.; and Serm. 181 de Tempore, now Tractatus de Symbolo in Appendix to vol. vi.

² Rom. xii. 4, 5.

³ 1 Cor. xii. 12-14, and 25-27.

⁴ 1 John i. 3.

⁵ 1 Cor. i. 9.

⁶ 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

communion is shown in St. John xvii. 20, 21, 23; *i.e.* in communion one with another between believers.¹

This is further shown by 1 John i. 7: "If we walk in the light, we have fellowship one with another," *κοινωνίαν μετ' ἀλλήλων*; and this shows that the mystical fellowship even between the members of the visible, that is the imperfect, Church, depends upon, and is in reference to, their walking together as children of light, in as far as they "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness;"² in short, that it is a communion between righteousness and righteousness, and not between righteousness and unrighteousness.³ Of course there is an outward communion between good Christians and hypocrites, but inward communion only so far as there is any good in either. This communion of saints extends doubtless to a certain mystical union with departed saints, as members of the same one Society,⁴ which embraces, as we have seen, the invisible and the visible Church, nay, further, to the blessed Angels. We do not, of course, pretend to explain wherein this communion consists; and the attempt to define it, to speculate upon it, and to act upon it, has in later days led to many serious errors and great corruptions. I allude, of course, to what, in the 22d Article, is called a fond thing vainly invented, "Invocation of Saints" (this we reserve till we come to that Article), and repugnant to the Word of God.

But in itself, and not as the Church of Rome has corrupted it, this doctrine, that we are not altogether divided in death from the just persons whom we loved on earth, and that there is an unseen and undefinable bond of union between successive generations of the departed and ourselves still on earth, is full of consolation and hope. The feeling is in strict accordance with all the instincts of our nature; they who have been once one in Christ can never, so long as they are in Christ, be divided from each other: there is in both the living and the departed saint the same hope and expectation of Christ's final advent, though in different degrees and exerted in divers manners, so that each is still minding the same thing; and the time will come when they

¹ See also Col. ii. 19. ² Eph. v. 11. ³ 1 John i. 6; 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.

⁴ That our Church recognises this mystical union is seen from the Collect for All Saints' Day:—"O Almighty God, who hast knit together thine elect in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, grant us grace so to follow thy blessed saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

will again be visibly and locally united as well as in fact; and the meanest Christian saint will live in open communion with the saints, and apostles, and martyrs of the early Church, and, what is more, in the actual visible presence of Christ, the Head of all.

The Scriptural proof of this present communion will be found in Hebrews xii. 22, 23, where the apostle is contrasting the state of the Israelites before Mount Horeb with that of the Christians, Christians still living, whom he is addressing. To these he says,—“ But ye are come (*ἀλλὰ προσεληλύθατε*) unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels,” etc.

And thus with regard to the Apostles' Creed, we have reason to adopt the conclusion of the Eighth Article, that it may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Writ. We had proved the remaining parts before; “ forgiveness of sins ” we alluded to in Article II., and shall have occasion to recur to again under Article XVI.¹

We now proceed to the Nicene Creed, in which there is no new doctrine. This has been shown by Dr. Burton, in his “ Ante-Nicene testimony to the doctrine of the Trinity ; ” and even the word *ὁμοούσιος* was used seventy years before at Antioch.² You will remember that I had occasion in Article v. to give a short history of the Creed, in reference to the controversy of the double procession of the Holy Ghost, the *Filioque* controversy; and I there stated that the first draft of the Creed was drawn up, as embodying what were already the current doctrines, at least by implication, at the first Œcumenical Council, held at Nice or Nicæa in Bithynia, A.D. 325; sometimes called without any other addition the Council of the 318.³ That Creed, so far as we know, stopped short at the words “ Holy Ghost ; ” all the remainder being absent in the copies.

In the course of the next sixty years, the Creed was modified in various particular Churches, so far as to add some explanations which new errors had rendered necessary;⁴

¹ It is curious that, according to Waterland, the Apostles' Creed is not admitted in Abyssinia, and but little in Asia. Hist. of the Athan. Creed, c. 6, *sub fin.*

² See Routh, Reliq. Sacr., vol. iii., p. 360 (Ed. 2).

³ The value of this Council may be shown from Athanas. de Div. Christi (vol. i. p. 920),—“ Let the decrees of the Council of Nice prevail, for they are right and sufficient to overthrow all the recent wicked heresies, but especially the Arian, that blasphemeth the Word of God, and necessarily speaketh evil of the Holy Ghost.”

⁴ Epiphanius (Ancorat. c. 120) has given us a form which he says was

and some of the Fathers evidently show that the practice began almost simultaneously with the conclusion of the Council of Nice, which has led some to conjecture that the first copies of the Creed went on nearly as we now have it, the parts wanting in the draft having been omitted by the transcribers. So far as we know, however, there was no general sanction of a synod for more than the original draft. In the year 381 the Emperor Theodosius convened the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople, amongst other things against the Macedonian heresy, which impugned the divinity of the Holy Ghost. In addition to other modifications¹ tending to bring the Creed into the shape in which we now profess it, the following words were introduced after the words "Holy Ghost:"—"τὸ Κύριον καὶ τὸ Ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν." The remainder to the end was not repeated in the Council, because it was not then in controversy; but it was left to be supplied in use from the more ancient Creeds already generally received in the Church. On account of this insertion, the Creed is often called, you will remember, the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed. The words "*filioque*," which are to this day excluded from the Eastern Creeds, seem to have been formally admitted into the Western Church in the eighth Council of Toledo (653), though some, relying on an interpolated canon, refer it to the first Council of Toledo, in 397. The estimate in which this Creed was always held may be seen from the language held about it in the fifth Council of Constantinople, in 518, where it is spoken of in a decree as "the Holy Symbol, declared at Nice, established at Constantinople, strengthened at Ephesus, and sealed at Chalcedon."

Now the Scriptural proof of the greater portion of the Creed has been anticipated. Some few things, however, require notice.

"Light of Light" would follow as an inference from the

in use A.D. 373, *i.e.* eight years before the Council of Constantinople. It contains all that the latter does, and indeed more, so that the Constantinopolitan Creed is an abridgement. For this, as well as the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds, see Heurtley, *de Fide et Symbolo*, pp. 11, 5, 17.

¹ In particular, the addition of *ταφέντα*, and the omission (after *μονογενῇ*) of *τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς*, and of the final anathema, *Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, Ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἢ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, ἢ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπτόν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία.*

Son's being begotten of the Father, God (begotten) of God, Light (begotten) of Light, very God (begotten) of very God. Both the Father and the Son are called Light in Scripture (St. John i. 9, 1 John i. 5). The Father is the light as the luminary, the Son is the light as the effulgence; though we must be careful not to press too far such illustrative analogies from the physical world. In Hebrews i. 3 the Son is called ἀπαύγασμα.

"Being of one substance with the Father," ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ has been proved before.

"By whom all things were made." We should observe that the antecedent to this and the following clauses is 'Jesus Christ,' not 'the Father,' the right faith being that the Father made all things by the Son. See St. John i. 3; 1 Cor. viii. 6; Col. i. 16; Heb. i. 2.

"Whose kingdom shall have no end" is implied in former Creeds, and may be seen from Dan. vii. 14 (in which "him" is evidently "one like the Son of Man") and Rev. xi. 15.

"I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and giver of Life," (not, as the common mode of reading would imply, the Lord of life, and the giver of life, but the Lord, τὸ Κύριον, Jehovah; and the Life-giver, τὸ ζωοποιόν, "vivificantem.")

That He is Κύριον has been already proved: that he is ζωοποιόν is seen from Rom. viii. 10, 11; 1 Pet. iii. 18; 2 Cor. iii. 6; St. John vi. 63.

"Who spake by the Prophets." This came in before incidentally when we were treating of the office of the Holy Ghost. Here it may suffice to refer to Acts i. 16, and 1 Pet. i. 10, 11.

"One Baptism for the remission of sins." That remission of sins is the object and effect of Baptism will be shown under Article xxviii. No heretics but the Marcionites have ever maintained the plurality of Baptism:¹ it is declared to be "one" in Eph. iv. 5, and Heb. vi. 4 was anciently expounded as against rebaptization.²

Of this Creed therefore we may conclude that it may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Writ.

It was to this Creed that the Council of Trent added the Creed of Pope Pius iv. (Professio Fidei Catholicae secundum Concilium Tridentinum ex bulla Pii P. iv.), which contains new Articles, most of them novel doctrines or matters of opinion, not of faith, embodying some of the worst errors and innovations of Rome. These errors we shall come to

¹ Bingham, Orig. Eccles. xii. v. sect. 2.

² Ibid. sect. 1.

again hereafter in due order: here I will only observe that it cannot be said of them that they can be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Writ.

The Athanasian Creed, anciently called *Fides* "*Quicunque vult*," or *Psalmus* "*Quicunque vult*," was not called the Athanasian Creed till the end of the seventh century, and then probably not by way of deceiving but as representing correctly the opinions expressed in the writings of St. Athanasius, who flourished at Alexandria 326-373. Some divines have thought it to be really the work of Athanasius, but the general opinion at present is that it was written by Hilary, Bishop of Arles, 429-449: this having been most elaborately argued by Dr. Waterland. Another very general supposition has been that it is the work of Vigilius of Thapsus, a diocese in Africa, in 483. However this may be, it seems pretty generally admitted that it was originally composed in Latin, even those who contend for the authorship of St. Athanasius being ready to allow that he wrote it in Latin during his exile in Italy or Germany.

You may remember that I stated, when I was treating of *Filioque*, that the fact of that procession being asserted in this Creed furnished internal evidence that it was written by some one in the Western Church. It was received generally through the Western Church, and admitted also by the Greeks, leaving out *Filioque*.¹ The oldest Latin ms., the Greek ones being few and comparatively modern, is very ancient, being attributed by Usher to A.D. 600.² The first commentary upon the *Quicunque vult* was by Venantius Fortunatus, A.D. 570. The fact of a comment proves that the Creed had already attained great celebrity, and was generally adopted. The order in which it can be proved to have been admitted into the different churches of the west is as follows:—France, A.D. 550; Spain, 630; Germany, 787; England, 800; Italy, 880; Rome, 930.³ In the Greek

¹ The legates of Pope Gregory ix. quoted this Creed at Constantinople in favour of the double procession in 1233, and it had been cited in private writers as early as 809 to the same purpose.

² In considering the antiquity of this ms. (which however is no longer extant), we must remember that mss. of the fourth century are extremely rare, and mss. of the fifth and sixth centuries far from numerous. Waterland enumerates twenty-five mss. of this Creed earlier than 1400.

³ It is remarkable that Rome was the last Western Church to adopt *Filioque* into the Nicene Creed. Waterland says as late as 1050. The custom of reciting the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed in the Church was not admitted by Rome before 1014, and so the other Western Churches were beforehand with Rome in the use of the Athanasian Creed.

Church, with the exception of the *Filioque* clause, it has been generally though not universally received, particularly in that portion of it established in Russia. As early as 670, and still more in the course of the eighth century, we find evidence that it was ordered to be read in churches, and learned by heart by the clergy. In the ninth century it seems to have been universally admitted. A further account of the whole question of date and author in respect to this Creed will be found in Waterland's History of the Athanasian Creed, where he has given tables both of the ancient evidence and of the opinions of modern writers. We shall not be far from the truth if we adopt his conclusion that the real author was Hilary, Bishop of Arles, between 429 and 449. He was a great admirer of St. Augustine's writings, many of whose expressions may be traced in the Creed, and the name Athanasian may have arisen in the same way as the name Apostolical with regard to what is called the Apostles' Creed. It is remarkable that this Hilary by resisting Pope Leo's encroachments had incurred disfavour at Rome. The general reception of this Creed wherever it was promulgated is a still greater reason for valuing it even than if it had been the work of St. Athanasius (several genuine creeds of his being still extant) as one man.

So much for the history of the Creed. We should come now to its interpretation and proof; but if we examine the truths which it maintains we shall again find, as we did in the case of the other two, that we have in the course of these lectures anticipated the chief proofs; so that to us, in our stage of inquiry, it is superfluous to go over the same ground again. Hereafter I would advise those who have leisure to institute an accurate comparison of the Creed with those Articles which teach of the Divine Nature and the Incarnation, and apply the scriptural proofs already used for the one to the other. All that can be attempted here is to give a general notion of the intention of the Creed, observing on whatever has not occurred before, and explaining the bearing of the chief clauses upon the early heresies, and to consider what are called the damnatory clauses.

The Creed naturally divides itself into three parts: 1. On the Trinity in Unity. 2. From the clause beginning "Furthermore," on the Incarnation. 3. "At whose coming" to the end of the Creed.

If we had time it would be well worth while to go regularly through Waterland's Commentary. He begins by placing each separate clause in the Creed side by side with

some parallel passage from some writer (generally St. Augustine) who lived and wrote before 430.

We will now glance at the principal matters in the various clauses, only reminding you first that when any explanation is attempted of the doctrine of the Trinity we do not presume to understand, still less to explain, the mystery, but to explain what the scriptural truth is respecting that mystery, as a fact. As to the mystery itself, the most profound divine is as much in the dark as a child, and his only superiority is in knowing what the truth is and accepting it.

1. "Before all things," in the first place. Faith must come before even practice.

"The Catholic faith," *i.e.* the true and right faith, deduced out of the Scriptures, held by the universal Church.

2. This clause will be more conveniently considered later.

3. "The Catholic Faith," *i.e.* the main body of the Christian religion, its essence from which all the rest flows, that which makes distinctively the Christian religion, "is this, etc."

4. This clause became necessary in order to guard against two opposite errors. The subtleties which it introduces are not ours, but those of heretics, who, under various disguises, would undermine the faith. The clause is directed against—
1. The Sabellians, who confounded the Persons of the Trinity, saying that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one Person, who took man's flesh, suffered, and rose again. Hence they were called Patripassians. 2. The Arians fell into the opposite error, that of dividing the substance, saying that the three Persons of the Trinity are three substances, and of different kinds, one being before the others, etc. Whereas the right faith as against both is (as we have shown from Scripture before), that there are three Persons and one God; not three Gods, nor one Person.

5 is a further statement of the true faith as against the Sabellians, the Docetae and Macedonius.

6 is principally against Arius.

7-18 inclusive are principally against the error of the Arians, yet in such a way as to guard at the same time against the opposite error of the Sabellians. Each Person is severally named as such in reference to each attribute of the Divinity, and yet in such a manner as to avoid tritheism, or the division of the substance into three Gods, whether equal to each other, or subordinate. It is difficult to conceive anything more accurate than these statements. In order to

show what the meaning of "such" is in clause 7, the succeeding clauses show that the words and the ideas "uncreate," "incomprehensible" (*i.e. immensus*), "eternal," "Almighty," "God," and "Lord," are equally and in the same sense applicable to all three Persons, and yet the declaration is at fitting places interspersed that these are not (as the Arians would say), three eternal, incomprehensibles, uncreated Almighty, Gods or Lords, but one substance under whatever attribute the Godhead is contemplated.

19. "For like as we are compelled, etc." This sums up the doctrine as against these two opposite classes of heretics, and is also a corollary to the foregoing. It is to be observed that the term "Christian verity" is nothing different from the term "Catholic religion." They are convertible expressions, and might change places without altering the meaning.

20-22 inclusive, proceed to state the several distinctive personal characteristics of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and are therefore principally opposed to the Sabellian heresy, confounding the Persons.

20. The distinguishing personal characteristic of the Father is, that He is made of none, neither created nor begotten. This answers to the "*Pater, de Caelo*" of the Litany, which is too often read erroneously, as if it was of heaven that He is the Father.

21. The distinguishing personal characteristic of the Son is that He is of the Father alone, in contradistinction to the Holy Ghost, who is from both Father and Son;¹ and that the only proper term to express His relation to the Father is the word "begotten." This answers to "O God the Son" in the Litany.

22. The distinguishing personal characteristic of the Holy Ghost is that He proceeds, and that from both the former Persons. This clause is against the followers of Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople in 357.

23. There are two ways in which the Sabellian error can take effect; either by making the three Persons only one, or by so describing each Person as to ascribe to Him the characteristics peculiar to the other two. This clause is against the latter form of Sabellian error.

24 asserts the unity and equality of the three Persons, in respect to co-eternity and dignity.

25 and 26 sum up the whole of the first part, the unity

¹ It is singular that the Greeks, who left out "*filioque*" in the next clause, overlooked the force of the word "alone" in this. Some at least of them did erase the one and leave the other.

of substance in a Trinity of Persons ; or a Trinity of Persons in a unity of substance, according to the point of view from which we start.

26, as a damnatory clause, is postponed.

27-35. The Incarnation.

28 is against the Docetae on the one hand, and the Arians on the other.

29. The particularity with which this is specified arises from the shifts and equivocation of heretics. For instance, the Arians considered Christ to be a created God, or a God by office ; this clause represents Him as God in substance, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds. On the other hand the Apollinarians (condemned at Constantinople in 381) and Docetae contend either that Christ had no human body at all, or that He brought it with Him from heaven ; and took it not from the Blessed Virgin Mary. This clause asserts that the human substance was derived from the Virgin, and that He had a true birth in this world.

30. Perfect as to either substance ; not an imperfect God, as Photinus (Bishop of Sirmium in 355) and Arius maintain ; nor an imperfect man, that is a human body without a rational soul (of which they feigned the *λόγος* to be in the place), as the Apollinarians held.

31 requires no comment.

32. "Not two, but one Christ." This is to guard against the Apollinarian cavil of saying that, according to the teaching of the Church, there is a Divine Christ and a human Christ.

33 is against the Apollinarians, and afterwards Eutyches, who confounded the two natures together, and attributed change to the Godhead. Christ did not change His Divine nature, but took flesh upon Him ; He took man into union with God.

34 is against Nestorius who asserted two Persons, as well as against the Apollinarians who confounded two natures.

35. An illustration. It is as impossible to understand the union between the reasonable soul and flesh in one man, as it is to understand that between the Divine nature and the human nature in Christ. Yet we believe one, therefore we may believe the other.

36-39 present no material points of difference as compared with the other Creeds.

On the review of the Creed, taking into account the Scriptural proof which we had anticipated, and the light which the history of error throws upon it, its value appears

to me more and more evident. It is surely astonishing to behold the accuracy and comprehensiveness with which the whole is framed, so as to guard against every loophole of error, either on the side of Sabellianism or Arianism, of Nestorianism, or the error of the Apollinarians. And as, in fact, these grand developments of early heresy are by no means extinct, since they are in these days being continually revived under one disguise or other, and that, too, by many names high in theology, I for one cannot conceive that any circumstances can arise which would justify us in dispensing with so impregnable an outwork of our faith. It ought, of course, to be open at any time to a calm and reverential investigation; each generation is permitted, and, in fact, in the case of the clergy required, to examine afresh the grounds on which the Church of England has received this Creed, as well as the rest. For no honest man, when required definitively to sign this faith as an index of his settled convictions as a member of the Church of England, can put his hand to this Eighth Article, unless he does *ex animo* believe the propositions asserted in it to be the truth; and how can he believe this as a question of fact, unless he has himself ascertained the cogency of the proofs from Scripture by which it is supported? For he asserts that this Creed ought to be thoroughly received and believed, because they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture. Now there is one observation which I would add, as a key to the Rationalism which prevails in Germany. In former days, the clergy there were compelled to subscribe to their symbolical books, including the three Creeds, because (*quia*) they agreed with Holy Scripture. In process of time the form of subscription ran thus: "I receive the symbolical books" (not *quia*, but) "*quatenus* they agree with Holy Scripture." So that instead of subscribing, as we do, to an ascertained fact, they left the door open for future retractation, by the evasive word *quatenus*, which might manifestly be used by a rank unbeliever. This is a very instructive fact.

With respect to the doctrines contained in this Creed, many of those who (in my judgment on mistaken grounds) feel a scruple about using it, and more particularly the members of our own Church who may feel such scruple, entertain no doubt that it is incontestably true. The scruple arises from an unwillingness to employ what are called the damnable clauses; a scruple arising from the most charitable feelings, and therefore entitled to the utmost tenderness and respect. Yet I cannot but think that these scruples are founded on a mistake, and I therefore proceed to consider

these clauses, not knowing how far I shall succeed in convincing you, but more and more convinced myself, upon every fresh examination, that these clauses, rightly understood, are not only perfectly justifiable, but, in a real and true sense, charitable.

The clauses are four altogether:—

The 2d: "Which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."

The 26th: "He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity."

The 27th: "Furthermore it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ."

And the 40th: "This is the Catholic Faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved."

The first and last, then, refer generally to the whole Catholic faith; the 26th to a special part of it, and the 27th to another special part. And it is implied throughout, that one truth in the Christian religion is so bound up with another, that the Catholic Faith is identified with the whole and with every part. The sense of each of these clauses is the same in different words.

And first, let us remember that it was very usual in the early Church to sum up all Creeds with an anathema, a word borrowed from 1 Cor. xvi. 22 (*εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα μαράναθα*) and Gal. i. 8, 9 ("But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, *ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*"). It means, "Let him be devoted to destruction," *i.e.* eternal destruction. In that form undoubtedly a wish for the gainsayer's destruction is clearly implied,—a wish which, when coming from an inspired Apostle, was doubtless dictated by God Himself. The first draft of the Nicene Creed ended, as we have seen, with an anathema against those who should say there was a time when the Word did not exist; and a similar form is continued throughout in the decrees of the Council of Trent. Now compare this with the clauses under review. There is no wish expressed, there is simply a statement of danger as a fact, and by way not of cursing but of warning. So that by the side of the ancient Creeds, the Athanasian Creed, so far from being distinguished by harshness, is on the very first glance at it comparatively charitable and mild. I do not say that the use of the word *ἀνάθεμα* was wrong in the Creeds, but this form at least is not open to the same objections as that.

But if these clauses contain indeed a mere statement of a supposed fact by way of warning—not the statement of our opinion, but of the Church's view of what the Bible itself teaches, and of our acquiescence in that view,—is there anything wrong in making that statement? particularly if we use it by way of reminding ourselves individually of the view of the Church in all ages, and by way of caution to Christians within, and not by way of denunciation against heretics without. Rather, would it not be wrong to withhold it? Can we be too precise in marking our appreciation of the momentous value of Christian truth? Does not the import of these clauses amount simply to an assertion of that value? and would not the withdrawal of the statement be equivalent to saying that we do not think after all that Christian truth is of the momentous importance which men suppose? To surrender the Creed (now, remember, proved to be true) on account of these clauses, or to read it, as some would persuade us, with these clauses expunged or bracketed, would be tantamount to acknowledging that we think a popular ignorant cry ought to be listened to in preference to truth, and to our assertion of truth's value; that we are ready to give up the faith itself when opposed to popular prejudices, or to abstain through mere fear of being called illiberal from asserting the vital necessity of faith.

And, in fact, by saying that a belief in certain things is (ordinarily) necessary to salvation, do we make it so? Is it in our power, or in the power of the Church, to curse those whom God has not cursed? The whole force of the clauses manifestly depends upon the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation being true. If they are not true, then of course the warning is merely *brutum fulmen*, and those who resist it, in that case, will not be in any way aggrieved or injured. If, on the other hand, it is true, then it is not we who injure them, for our object is to save them by timely warning; but it is their own act, punishable by God alone, on principles which no created being can gainsay or even understand.

For that God does punish men for want of faith, taken generally, He has Himself declared in St. Mark xvi. 16: "He that believeth not shall be damned;" and if this is true in respect to the whole Christian religion, who shall presume to say which part of the revelation is superfluous, and which indispensable; more particularly when the parts of Christianity under review are so absolutely essential to Christianity as it is, not as people imagine it, but in its true scriptural character? Take away the Trinity and the Incarnation, and what remains of Christianity? what becomes of

the atonement, or of sanctification, or of Christ's judgment, and the resurrection of our bodies? what remains except a system of perfect morality, which, though a property inseparable from Christianity, is yet not its distinguishing characteristic? In saying, therefore, as the Scriptures teach us, that faith is absolutely necessary to salvation, we in fact mean the Christian faith, and every part of it, whole and undefiled, for the least admixture of wilful error vitiates the healing power of faith, the least stone wilfully disturbed endangers the whole superstructure of belief.

The subtleties which we, or rather the Church, is obliged to notice, are not our own, but those of heretics and unbelievers; and not only does Scripture teach us that they are against sound speech, but experience has shown that wilful deviation in one point makes general error and heresy almost inevitable.

But while we thus vindicate the use of these clauses as a general warning, on the ground that they are really more charitable than silence, while we for ourselves as individuals acquiesce in them as the voice of the Church Catholic, do we venture to judge individuals? Very far from it. For, first of all, there is hope of every individual, particularly if warned, that he may repent. And, secondly, which of us can tell what natural, perhaps, humanly speaking, what insuperable hindrances there may have been in arriving at truth? God knows all this; the circumstances, parentage, education, associations, weaknesses, frailties, ignorance, inability, or the like, of every individual. This is a very good reason for leaving the whole matter in God's hands, and for hoping for all that they may be brought to the truth and be saved; but it is no reason for doing away with warnings which only echo Scripture, and which, though they may often fail of effect, do tend on the whole to keep alive, in all of us, the sense of the momentous importance of these doctrines. In short, it is with faith as with practice. Suppose a manual to be drawn out of Christian practice (such as we have in the Communion Service), condemning adultery, theft, etc., would there be anything unreasonable or uncharitable in saying, "This is the Christian practice, which except a man faithfully accept and follow, he cannot be saved"? What then is the difference between this and saying, "This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved"? In both cases there is a general warning, limited by common sense; and by no means excluding such merciful abatements and allowances as reason and revelation itself sanction. On the whole, then, this Creed

cannot be thought superfluous, so long as there are any Arians, Photinians, Sabellians, Macedonians, Apollinarians, Nestorians, or Eutychians; and the withdrawal of the damnatory clauses would give a false impression, as though we did not think the doctrine of the Trinity, in all its integrity, of vital importance in the Christian scheme.

And thus we conclude the Eighth Article, and with it the second division of our subject, which we have stated from the beginning, *i.e.* the division concerning the Rule of Faith.

Before quitting the subject, I would commend to your notice three sermons of St. Augustine, "in traditione Symboli" (Serm. 212, 213, 214), which contain very much to the purpose.

ARTICLE IX.

ARTICULUS IX.

De Peccato Originali.

PECCATUM originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami situm; sed est vitium, et depravatio naturae, cuiuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati: qua fit, ut ab originali iustitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat; unde in unoquoque nascens, iram Dei, atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis haec naturae depravatio. Qua fit, ut affectus, Graece *Φρόνημα σαρκός* (quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium carnis interpretantur), legi Dei non subiiciatur. Et quanquam renatis et credentibus, nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth-sin.

ORIGINAL Sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in the Greek, *Φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

WE now enter upon the third part, according to our original division, of the Thirty-nine Articles,—that which treats of doctrines relating to Christians as individuals, comprising Articles IX. to XVIII. inclusive. On this branch of the subject it is not my purpose to dwell at great length; partly because some of the doctrines themselves, though vitally important, lie within a narrow compass, often requiring little more than the explanation of the terms, and a brief setting forth of the scriptural proofs, and partly because others of the number are far beyond the limits of the human understanding, and lead only to unprofitable questions generating strife. Still there is a right and a wrong in this as in

all other things, and the conclusions at which the Church of England has arrived are demonstrably true, as resting upon the basis of Scripture.

Throughout the whole of the nine following Articles, which are all connected together, one distinguishing feature may be observed. It is evidently presupposed that there has been amongst divines an endeavour to determine how far the agency of God, or the agency of man, should be conceived as affecting the salvation of Christians, and it will be seen in this as in other cases that the truth lies between both; that the combined agency both of God and of man, in due subordination and by God's appointment, is ordinarily necessary for attaining salvation; and that although it is not for our faculties to perceive the proportions of each definitely, or to determine accurately in theory where one begins and the other ends, or how they are blended together in order to their joint effect, we can easily arrive at practical conclusions sufficient by God's grace for the purposes of a godly life, though inadequate to the requirements of a morbid curiosity. I have now been speaking of a characteristic more or less observable in all these nine Articles.

Most of the errors and difficulties incident to these subjects are traceable to the imperfection of human language. We are obliged to use many terms with reference to all spiritual agencies, borrowed from external things, and therefore metaphorical; but to use a metaphorical term as if it were a proper one must engender confusion of ideas, and confused ideas must lead to erroneous propositions and conclusions. Thus when we speak of the corruption of man, or the infection of his nature, we are using terms respecting the soul, the nearest we can find, but such as properly belong to the body. We know more clearly what putrefaction of the animal body is, much more clearly, because it is subjected to our senses, than we know what infection of the soul is, which is not subject directly to the senses, but in respect to its nature only known to us, either by reflex action of our own minds, or else by its effects in other men's outward conduct. Again, when we speak of the freedom of the human will, we have no proper idea of what it is to have the will free; we argue from the freedom of the body, *i.e.* metaphorically; we transfer to the mind what we know to constitute freedom with respect to the body, in such expressions as unfettered, unchained, &c. And the confusion is still worse if we attempt to contemplate the attributes of God, such as infinite foreknowledge, of which we can form some feeble ideas by analogy, but properly we know nothing whatever

about it. Yet we talk and dispute as if we were perfectly cognisant of true metaphysical science.

After these few prefatory remarks, which could be easily extended, we will now proceed to Article ix.

The error principally combated in this Article is that of Rome, which was in fact nearly identical with that of the Schoolmen; and of course it cannot be thoroughly understood without knowing the Scholastic divinity on this subject, the principal feature of which was that the fall of Adam superinduced on his descendants a corporeal taint, which was not itself sin, but *fomes peccati*, "a kind of fuel, which the human will kindles or not at pleasure."¹

In comparing the Latin and English versions of this Article, the chief things to notice are "*in imitatione*," scarcely represented fully by "in the following of Adam;" "very far gone," an inadequate and weaker rendering of "*quam longissime*;" "*nascentium*," rendered by "born into the world;" and the use of "baptized" and "regenerate" as convertible terms, seeing that they are both used as equivalent to "*renati*." The Article is to be compared with the Second of the Confession of Augsburg.²

Between the editions of 1552, 1562, and 1571, the only material difference is that after the word "*Pelagiani*" there occurs in the first edition "*et hodie Anabaptistae repetunt*." It is also noticeable that "baptized" is used in the same edition as the equivalent of "*renatis*" in both the places where the word occurs. The reason of the first change is not very obvious. It is certain that the Anabaptists, denying the necessity of infant baptism, do fall into the Pelagian heresy with respect to original sin; and one proof of this is that the best book in proof of original sin as against Pelagians and Anabaptists is that of Wall on Infant Baptism.

"Original sin" is not a scriptural term any more than its opposite, "original righteousness," but it is a convenient word to express a complex scriptural notion. It is also called, as in the title of this Article, birth sin, and is opposed in Article II. to actual sins.

It has two distinct but related senses: either the state of offenders in the sight of God, or the mind, or set of passions, strongly inclining men to commit actual sin; a tendency to sin,—this is called concupiscence. We shall meet both these senses in the Article.

The Article naturally divides itself into four principal parts. It begins in the first part by laying down two

¹ Laurence, Bampton Lectures, p. 59. ² Sylloge Confessionum, p. 166.

general propositions—1st, What original sin is not; 2d, What it is. The first part therefore extends down to “of the offspring of Adam.”

The second part treats of its effects—1st, Its primary and immediate effects: *a.* that man is very far gone from original righteousness, *i.e.* from the state of righteousness in God’s sight in which Adam was created; *β.* that he is of his own nature prone to evil, *i.e.* he has a tendency to evil. 2d, Its secondary or consequent effects, “so that” (*i.e.* from this departure from righteousness, and this proneness to evil, it results that) “the flesh lusteth contrary to the spirit.” 3d, What we may call its tertiary or ultimate effect, resulting from the preceding, “and therefore in every person born into the world it” (*i.e.* original sin, either the state or the tendency) “deserves God’s wrath and damnation.” The chain of reasoning traced backwards is this: the flesh deserves the wrath of God *because* it lusteth always contrary to the spirit, which results *because* man is very far gone from original righteousness, and *because* he is of his own nature inclined to evil, all of which is the effect of original or birth sin.

The second part then extends from “whereby man” down to “wrath and damnation.”

The third part treats of the continuance of this original sin or infection of nature, even simultaneously with and notwithstanding the grace of Baptism. It comprises the whole of the next sentence, down to “is not subject to the law of God.”

The fourth part, to the end of the Article, may be divided into two propositions:—

1st, That this infection of nature still remaining is free from condemnation for them that believe and are baptized.

2d, “That concupiscence and lust,” which are the effects, as we have said, of original sin, “hath of itself” (*i.e.* irrespectively of the counteracting causes which take away the punishment, that is to say Redemption and Sanctification) “the nature of sin.”

1. *a.* “Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk.” Now to understand this we must know something of Pelagius and of his errors, and that not only because these errors are mentioned in this Article, but because they furnish a key to other Articles. Pelagius was a native of Wales, his proper native name being Morgan, which in Welsh is said to be equivalent to *Marigena* (born of the sea), and so in Greek *Πελάγιος*, from *πέλαγος*. He is said, on no good foundation, to have

been Abbot of Bangor, having been a member of Cambridge University. He began his heretical career about 405: his principal scenes of activity being Rome, Africa, Egypt, and Jerusalem. The substance of his heresy (of which what is named in the text was only one phase) is this. He, in the first instance, utterly denied that there was any such thing as original sin; he asserted that the punishment of Adam's transgression was neither perpetuated in his offspring nor imputed to them: that every one is born into the world with the same perfect will as Adam; in fact, that all children are born in the same state in which Adam was when created: that temporal death even is not the consequence of Adam's fall, but came from natural necessity, so that Adam himself would have died even if he had never sinned. He held corresponding errors concerning grace, which he reduced to the rational will, the grace of Christ being made to be only His doctrine and example: grace he considered not to be necessary, for that we could perform all virtues without it by our own strength. He also held analogous notions about free will, to which he attributed so much as to say that man, if he so pleased, could live without sin and wholly satisfy the law of God. He held accordingly that men were justified by their own merits, and were predestined to eternal life. He denied the legality of oaths, and also the possibility of a rich man being saved. It should be added that on the great doctrines of the Trinity he has always been considered sound, which is not true of his modern followers, the Socinians. Personally, like many other heretics, he was a moral and amiable man. His principal followers were Celestinus, an Irishman ("*Scotus*"), and Julianus.

He himself and his followers after him so far modified their first absolute denial of original sin as to admit that it existed, but only operated not as an element in fallen man's nature, but simply in the way of Adam's descendants imitating his example, and each generation deriving its habits and examples from those before it. What is mentioned in the text, therefore, is either a subterfuge or the corollary of the real error, which, however abandoned in name, was still maintained in deed. The Article then states that this view of the Pelagians, viz., that original sin is nothing more than the following of Adam, is not the true one.

Now, before we proceed to the proof that it is an error, it must be evident that this view only removes the difficulty one step; for, supposing that all mankind do only follow Adam's evil example, how comes it that they are all inclined

to follow a bad example?—to imitate Adam rather than Enoch or Noah? There must be some wrong tendency in man, as well as wrong conduct, and though no one will deny that bad example is one great source of wickedness, yet it is matter of daily experience that many a child, carefully secluded from all bad example and surrounded by what may be patterns of goodness, does nevertheless fall into most grievous sin; that every child, almost before it can speak, shows tendencies to wrong, selfishness, want of truth, and the like, which, if not carefully watched, will end in wicked conduct. The Pelagian theory therefore does not in the least explain the phenomena. Their real original ground, that of denying original sin altogether, however contrary to Scripture and to experience, was at least consistent.

With regard to the proof that this Pelagian view is an error, we prove this negatively, while we prove the Scripture truth positively. The two propositions cannot stand together: if it is true that "original sin is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam," then it is not true that "it standeth in the following of Adam."

But before we prove the second proposition of the first part, and in it the first, we must explain some of its terms. What is the meaning of that clause "Every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam"? It is meant first to mark Christ's exemption from original sin, because He was supernaturally engendered, which speaks for itself, and secondly to mark that the Blessed Virgin Mary is not exempted, as is maintained by a decree of the Council of Trent¹—the notion of her being supernaturally engendered being a pure fable.

And now for the proof of the two propositions of part first.

First, that there is this hereditary propagation of moral evil may be probably inferred from what takes place according to what is called the system of nature. Even the inferior animals depend upon breed. Bodily qualities both in man and beast are handed down—bodily diseases are often hereditary, from some parents who first contracted the disease, such as gout, etc., from some acquired or original tendency to it. Children resemble their parents in feature or tone of voice, even in cases where the child never saw the parent, so that the resemblance could not come from example or association. Mental powers are likewise often similar in

¹ At the end of the decree about original sin: Conc. Trid. Sess. v. p. 26, June 17, 1546. For our view see also Article xv.

succeeding generations. All this is enough to show that analogy is in favour of the scriptural truth. And be it remembered that all these phenomena which we know as facts we are not able to understand or account for, any more than we can understand or account for original sin.

Secondly, experience confirms this. One cannot watch a young child without remarking some evil tendencies; not developed fruits of evil, but the germs of evil, which, if not checked, will be developed; and to counteract them is the chief business of education. I will add that we can at no period of our lives, whether in what are called the innocent days of childhood (and comparatively innocent they are), or when we have been baptized and long improved by the use of the other means of grace, and by habitual good habits, we can never look into our own hearts and say they are pure. We perceive evil tendencies in them, even when we have seen no bad examples to imitate—when, in fact, the temptation is quite new and unknown before to ourselves. And surely we cannot be too deeply impressed with this tendency, that we may be continually watchful over ourselves.

Again, heathen philosophers and poets are themselves fully aware of this tendency. Cicero shows this plainly when he says—"Simul atque editi in lucem et suscepti sumus, in omni continuo pravitate et in summa opinionum perversitate versamur, ut paene cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse videamur,"¹ and Horace (*Od.* iii. 6) shows that it is natural. It would be easy to multiply instances,² but it is time to pass on, just observing that all these are facts, and that there never has been anything approaching to a plausible explanation of the origin of this hereditary corruption except

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* III. i. 2.

² *e.g.* Hor. *Sat.* I. iii. 35:—

"Denique te ipsum
Concute, num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
Natura."

Ib. 68: "Vitis nemo sine nascitur."

Ov. *Metam.* vii. 19:—

"Sed trahit invitam nova vis; aliudque Cupido
Mens aliud suadet. Video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora sequor."

Juv. xiii. 239:—

"Tamen ad mores natura recurrit
Damnatos, fixa et mutari nescia."

Ib. xiv. 40:—

"Quoniam dociles imitandis
Turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus."

that given in the Bible. There is the fact, ascertained from various sources, and there is only one way of accounting for it—that is, the introduction of sin into human nature from Adam's fall. And this alone accounts for other facts, as to the method of counteracting this corruption, which are disclosed only by Revelation.

Coming now to the scriptural proof, it is in the first place not unimportant to show that all mankind are derived from Adam, not in his original state of righteousness, but after his fall: there is something also in the scriptural expression which seems intended to mark an hereditary character, in Gen. v. 3, "And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness" (with which is to be compared God's saying, "after our likeness," in Gen. i. 26), "after his image, and called his name Seth." Now from Seth Noah descended, and through Noah ourselves. Let us now take the preliminary proofs of what original sin is, and whence it is derived.

They are to be found in Gen. vi. 5, viii. 21, compared with Gen. i. 31, Eccles. vii. 29; Psalm li. 5, lviii. 3; Job xiv. 4.

Here again we have the fact. We see two different representations of human nature—"man in the image of God," "very good," and man "after the likeness of Adam," after his fall; and in the interval between these two different aspects of man we find a certain event which carried with it hereditary death, and we shall see hereafter that that death is closely connected and correlative with sin. Death implies a change in the physical state of Adam, which points to the close connexion between moral and physical evil, and may be illustrated by many of our mental maladies which are traceable to bodily disorders. I do not know how the evidence strikes others; to me, if there were no direct assertion in the Bible, it would appear that the doctrine of original sin might be deduced from these contrasted descriptions in the Old Testament.

The chief proofs of the doctrine are found in

Rom. v. 12 to the end of the chapter.

Rom. vii. 18. Here the word "flesh" refers to the corrupt nature of man, *i.e.* of the offspring of Adam.

Eph. ii. 3: "By nature the children of wrath." Not by man's nature as originally created, but by his nature after his fall.

Eph. iv. 22.

This is sufficient proof of the first proposition, that "original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, but is

the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam."

To these testimonies of the Scriptures we will now add some of the testimonies of early Christian writers, showing that they took the same view as the Church now does of this doctrine. It has been most groundlessly imagined that St. Augustine, A.D. 396, as he probably was the first who adopted the term "original sin," was also the inventor of the doctrine. Exact equivalents for the name may be found in earlier Christian writers, *παλαιὰ δυσσέβεια*, *antiqua plaga*, *κοινὴ ἀρὰ*, *ἀρχαία ἁμαρτία*, and the like. For instance—

Ignatius, interpol. ad Trallian. c. 8 (A.D. 104): *Δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λύτρον, ἵνα τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ καθαρίσῃ ἡμᾶς παλαιὰς δυσσεβείας.*

Justin Martyr, Dial. c. Tryph. c. 88, p. 186 (A.D. 155): "*Ὡςπερ οὐδὲ τὸ γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι, ὡς ἐνδεῆς τούτων, ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θάνατον καὶ πλάνην τὴν τοῦ ὀφews ἐπεπτώκει.*"

Irenæus, adv. Haer. Lib. iv. c. 5 (A.D. 184): "Non aliter salvari homines ab antiqua serpentis plaga, nisi credant in eum, qui secundum similitudinem carnis peccati in ligno martyrii exaltatur a terra, et omnia trahit ad se, et vivificat mortuos."

Tertullian, de Testim. Animæ, c. iii. (A.D. 198): "Satanum dicimus . . . per quem homo a primordio circumventus ut praeceptum Dei excederet, et propterea in mortem datus, exinde totum genus de suo semine infectum suae etiam damnationis traducem facit."

Origen, c. Celsum, lib. iv. (A.D. 230): "*Ἡ ἀρὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ κοινὴ πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῆς γυναικὸς οὐκ ἔστι καθ' ἧς οὐ λέγεται.*"

Cyprian, Epist. lix., ad Fidum, c. 4 (A.D. 250): "A baptismo . . . prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquae prima nativitate contraxit. Qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria sed aliena peccata."

Athanasius, contra Arrian. Orat. i. 51 (A.D. 326): "*Ὡςπερ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ παραβάντος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔφθασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία, οὕτως τοῦ Κυρίου γενομένου ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸν ὄφιν ἀναστρέψαντος, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡ τοιαύτη ἰσχυς διαβήσεται.*"

Basil, in Psalm. xxix. (A.D. 370): *Καλὸς μὲν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ἀσθενὴς δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἐπιβολῆς τοῦ ὀφews νεκρωθῆναι τῷ παραπτώματι.*

Now you will observe that all these Fathers substantiate the doctrine, inasmuch as they all admitted that there was a general corruption of human nature, a great warping from the original rectitude of the first creation, and a proneness to sin, derived from our first parents; yet all of them lived before St. Augustine (A.D. 396). Yet there is no doubt that St. Augustine was the great champion of the doctrine of original sin, and that he was led by the circumstances of his times to lay great stress upon it, and to define some of the consequences of this doctrine too strictly and harshly; particularly as regards his presumptuous and, in my judgment, erroneous opinions concerning the fate of unbaptized children. I am, of course, not arguing against the necessity (ordinarily speaking) of Christian baptism; but when we enter into questions respecting the consequences of neglecting it, we are going out of our province, and judging beyond what is written. I state this as a caution with respect to St. Augustine's works on this subject. I need not quote passages from him, as he not only incidentally alludes to this doctrine, but has written whole works expressly on the controversy.

We have now derived proofs of the second part of the first proposition from analogy, experience, impartial testimony, Scripture, and Christian antiquity. Therefore we know that original sin is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam. We do not presume to decide what this is in its real nature, or whether it resides in the soul or body, or both, which are curious and useless questions. From this we know what it is not, and therefore the whole of the first proposition is proved.

Before I quit this part of the Article, however, it may be expedient to show that the Church of England, in her various formularies, is consistent with herself. There is no homily expressly by this title, but the first Homily on the Misery of Man begins by showing that vainglory and pride "is of all vices most universally grafted in all mankind, since the infection of our first father Adam;" and in the Sermon on the Nativity it is set forth that the curse and plague of Adam "fell not only on him, but also on his posterity and children for ever, so that the whole brood of Adam's flesh should sustain the self-same fall and punishment which their forefather by his offence most justly had deserved." And in Jewell's Apology (which you will remember has, with Nowell's Catechism, a semi-official authority, having been received by Convocation), the following passage occurs: "*Dicimus hominem natum esse in peccato, et in peccato*

vitam agere ; neminem posse vere dicere mundum esse cor suum."¹

Let us now turn to the Prayer-book. Here we shall observe that throughout the services generally (exclusive of that for Baptism), although we have the corruption of man taken for granted in such expressions as "the deceits of the world," "the frailty of man," "the frailty of our nature," "the flesh," "the natural inability of man to please God," or "to do any good without Him," "our offences and the offences of our fathers," "the leaven of malice and wickedness," "the devices and desires of our own hearts," "the negation of health in us," "death," "corrupt affections," "wretchedness," "infirmities," "worldly and carnal lusts," "works of darkness," "blindness of heart," and the like, as setting forth phenomena still active even in the regenerate, yet in these services original sin is not expressly traced to Adam, whereas, as we might have expected, in the Baptismal Service there are most direct and express assertions of the doctrine of our Article,—the reason being that previously to baptism original sin is still upon us, not only as respects its remnants, which remain even in the regenerate, but in all the force of its condemnation, whereas by and after baptism the penalties of original sin as such are remitted, and therefore the prayers which the Church puts into our mouths speak more of actual sins as proceeding from the remnants of corruption, than of original sin.

Now the Baptismal Service opens thus :—"Forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin;" and again in the Baptism of Infants we pray for "the remission of his sins." What sins? Evidently not actual in the babe, but original. Again, there is express mention of Adam in the prayer after the answer of the sponsors: "Grant that the old Adam in this child may be so buried that the new man may live and grow in him." And in the thanksgiving after the act of baptism, the child is spoken of as "dead unto sin." To these passages we may add the first concluding rubric, where allusion is made to "actual sin," as contrasted with that which is forgiven in the case of the baptized infant. Speaking generally, the whole doctrine of baptism, particularly of infants, is only intelligible when the doctrine of original sin is pre-supposed.

But the argument will derive additional strength from the propositions which follow, and which you will remember I stated to relate to the consequences of this corruption. For

¹ Jewell, *Apol.*, part ii. c. 19, cp. Nowell's *Catechism*, p. 64, Jacobson's edition.

of course the cause is made more palpable if consequences can be shown to flow from it; though I need hardly say that in this case the separation of the fact and its consequences is purely theoretical. The proofs, therefore, which follow are subsidiary to our main proposition.

The second part of this Article divides itself into three propositions, and has respect to the consequences of original sin, not as explaining them, but stating them as facts.

a. Its primary and immediate effects, *i.e.* that man is very far gone from original righteousness; that is to say, from that state of righteousness in which Adam was before his fall.

β. Its secondary or consequent effects: so that, from this departure from righteousness and this proneness to evil, it results that the flesh lusteth contrary to the spirit.

γ. What we may call its tertiary or ultimate effects, resulting from the preceding: "And therefore in every person born into the world it" (*i.e.* original sin) "deserveth God's wrath and damnation." The chain of reasoning taken in an inverse order is this: "The flesh deserves God's wrath because it lusteth always contrary to the spirit, which results because man is far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature prone to evil, all of which is the effect of original sin."

The proofs of these propositions are found as follows:—

Of *a.* in Job ix. 20; Isaiah lxiv. 6; Rom. viii. 7.

Of *β.* in Gen. viii. 21: "The imagination of man's heart from his youth;" Job xv. 14-16; Rom. vii. 23; Gal. v. 17.

Of *γ.* in Rom. v. 18; Eph. ii. 3; Gal. iii. 22.

Having disposed of the question what original sin is, and what are its consequences, we are naturally led to inquire what relation it bears to Christians, that is to the children of God, not in a state of nature, but in a state of grace, or, as it is in the Catechism, "a state of salvation." Is it entirely removed by the baptism of believers? or does it remain? The answer to this question will be found in Article xv., but it is also given here. The third proposition asserts its continuance, yea, even in them that are regenerate, *i.e.* in those that are baptized. For in the language of the Article these terms are convertible, as is shown by the fact, mentioned above, that whereas the Latin, which, you must remember, is an authorized edition, has the one word "*renatis*," the English, an edition equally authorized by the same compilers, especially Bishop Jewell, translates that same word in two ways, "regenerate," and "baptized." It is not my pur-

pose to enter at present into the important subject of Baptismal Regeneration; it may be postponed till we come to those Articles which treat of the Sacraments; but I must observe by the way, that the very mode of stating the opinion of our Church concerning original sin marks her sense as to the doctrine of Baptism. "This infection of nature remaineth, yea," (that is, even where one might have expected to find it wholly removed), "even in the regenerate or baptized."¹ Now if a great change had not been wrought in man's relations to original sin by baptism, it would have been sufficient to say, "and this infection of nature resides in all men;" but the change, great as it is, is not sufficient to expel all the corruption of original sin.

It is far from the intention of the Article, on the other hand, to represent the continuance of this corruption even in Christians, as affecting them, *i.e.* real Christians, in the same way as it does other men. To understand that this limitation is meant we must borrow a sentence which grammatically belongs to the last proposition. "There is no condemnation," on this account of original sin, for them that believe and are baptized. And the proposition would stand thus:—"This infection of nature remaineth, yea, in them for whom there is no condemnation on that account, *i.e.* for those who believe and are baptized." The condemnation, then, for original sin is for Christ's merit passed away in baptism; but the lust of the flesh still remains, weakened but not subdued, for our trial; and if we Christians obey this lust, we commit actual sins, which, unless repented of and pardoned for Christ's sake, will again bring us into a state of condemnation; the justification which we had attained is forfeited, or at least in abeyance, so long as we continue in actual unrepented sin. You will remember that this doctrine of the continuance of frailty, even in Christians, is implied throughout our Church services, which evidently presuppose the fact that they are intended for Christian men.

Let me add, as those prayers themselves indicate, that it is against this remaining corruption that the aid of the Holy Spirit is especially necessary.

The scriptural proof that this infection of nature remaineth after baptism is found in Gal. v. 16, 17, 1 St. Pet. ii. 11, Rom. xiii. 14, which we must remember are

¹ It must be remembered throughout these Articles that the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is not prominently brought forward, inasmuch as it was not then in controversy.

addressed to baptized persons; and in Rom. vii. 18, 22, 23, 25.

We may now explain the last clause of the third proposition: "Whereby the lust of the flesh, called in the Greek *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God."

The expression *φρόνημα σαρκός* is found twice, *totidem verbis*, in the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. viii. 6, viii. 7), opposed to *φρόνημα τοῦ Πνεύματος*, and in the fifth verse we have *τὰ τῆς σαρκός φρονούσι*. In the English version it is rendered "to be carnally minded," "the carnal mind;" though in both verses the margin gives another rendering,—"the minding of the flesh." The Vulgate translates it "*prudencia carnis*" in the sixth verse, and "*sapientia carnis*" in the seventh.

Of the fourth proposition, the proof of the first clause, "There is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized," is found in Rom. viii. 1, where the expression of the Apostle, "them that are in Christ Jesus," is equivalent to "them that believe and are baptized;" and in Gal. iii. 13.

The second clause, "Yet the Apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin," is derived from Rom. vii. 7, where the propositions, "I had not known sin," and "I had not known lust," are evidently used as convertible. The truth is confirmed by St. James, i. 15, St. Matt. v. 28.

It is to be remarked that this last clause was framed with express reference to the very words of the so-called Council of Trent;¹ and this fact gives it its especial importance.

We have now finished the proof of this Article, and we have seen its grounds confirmed by analogy, experience,

¹ Conc. Trid. Sess. v. (June 17, 1546), p. 26: "Hanc concupiscentiam, quam aliquando Apostolus peccatum appellat, sancta synodus declarat ecclesiam catholicam nunquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod vere et proprie in renatis peccatum sit, sed quia ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinat." With this may be compared the Scripture doctrines as set forth by St. Ambrose, Epist. to Demetriades: "Non inventus in ullo homine tanta concordia, ut legi mentis lex quae membris insita non repugnet. Propter quod ex omnium sanctorum persona recipitur, quod Johannes Apostolus ait, 'Si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.'" Again, St. Augustine says (cont. Julianum v. 3): "Concupiscentia carnis, adversus quam bonus concupiscit spiritus, et peccatum est, . . . et poena peccati, . . . et causa peccati." This is only one amongst innumerable instances where the Church of Rome has shown her contempt for genuine Christian antiquity.

testimony heathen and Christian, and Scripture. It remains, however, a very mysterious doctrine, but yet of incalculable importance, inasmuch as it is the groundwork of the vital doctrines of the Christian faith, the justification of fallen man, by the Lord our Righteousness, who has removed from Christians all that load of guilt which was laid upon them by Adam's transgression, who has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows,—the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.

ARTICLE X.

ARTICULUS X.

De Libero Arbitrio.

EA est hominis post lapsum Adæ conditio, ut sese naturalibus suis viribus, et bonis operibus, ad fidem, et invocationem Dei convertere, ac præparare non possit. Quare absque gratia Dei (quæ per Christum est) nos præveniente, ut velimus, et co-operante, dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo grata sunt, et accepta, nihil valemus.

ARTICLE X.

Of Free-will.

THE condition of Man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

IN the edition of 1552 this Article contained only the latter part, beginning “Absque gratia Dei,” “We have no power.” The first sentence was added in 1562, when the Article appeared in its present form. The only other change of importance in 1562 was that “working with us” was substituted for “working in us,” as the equivalent for “cooperante.”

In entering upon the third division of the Thirty-nine Articles, I said that the subjects treated of under that head were nearly connected together. The connexion between this Article and the Ninth is obvious; indeed, this incapacity of the natural will to turn to God is as much a consequence of original sin as the proneness to evil mentioned in the second proposition of Article IX., and in fact it is here expressly stated in the words “after the fall of Adam.”

I wish now to state at the outset that it is not my intention to enter deeply into the questions involved in this Article; such an attempt would lead us into the depths of metaphysics, and into disquisitions quite inappropriate to your age and probable destination. It is, besides, a subject which, perhaps more than any other, except that of the Trinity, has led to unprofitable and hurtful controversies; indeed, to political parties and bloody revolutions, and to

political persecutions, like the murder of the pensionary Barneveld,¹ and the imprisonment of the famous Grotius, on the ground of their being Arminians. It seems almost as if the passions of theoretical divines were embittered in proportion to the impossibility, naturally speaking, of forming any definite idea at all on the subject-matter in dispute. The only question for us is, whether the teaching of our Church is consonant to Scripture, and that being determined, we should avoid looking into things which are too high for us, and rest content with that moderate scriptural doctrine which our Church in this Article, carefully abstaining from defining too much, maintains, and which she expresses, in a way not to be mistaken, throughout her services.

But while we abstain at present from taking a part in this controversy, it is essential both for this Article and the following ones that are closely related to it, that we should know what the controversy was about. It originated, then, in a vain attempt to fix the exact proportion in which the agency of God and the agency of man are respectively concerned in the work of salvation ; in other words, to speculate upon the theoretical consistency between Free-will and Grace. Some held Free-will to the exclusion of Grace, some Grace to the exclusion of all Free-will. The more moderate have seen that the truth lies somewhere (without defining where) between these two extremes. They allow that the will of man, though free to choose, is, since Adam's fall, so corrupt that it will not choose the good without Divine aid, or Grace. They held that this Divine aid, or Grace, which if put forth in God's power would have been irresistible, is not applied irresistibly, nor in such a manner as to exclude the co-operation of the human will towards choosing the good and rejecting the evil. I may just add that the controversy resolves itself ultimately into five points:—1. Predestination ; 2. The extent of Redemption ; 3. The state of the human will before conversion to Christianity ; 4. The state afterwards ; 5. Perseverance. Hence it has been called the *Quinquarticular* controversy, or that of the Five Points.

The mere history of the controversy would even in outline take up a considerable portion of our time. It embraces a period from the first ages of Christianity, even before the Pelagian era, down to the present time. The controversy has appeared in various shapes. The principal phases in the

¹ John Barneveldt van Olten was put to death May 13, 1619, by the influence of Maurice of Nassau. Grotius was condemned at the same time to imprisonment for life, but escaped March 21, 1621.

four periods of its greatest development may be considered to be—1. That between St. Augustine and the Pelagians in the fifth century; 2. That amongst the schoolmen, the leaders of the two parties being Thomas Aquinas (Doctor Angelicus, who died in 1274), whose followers were called Thomists, and John Duns Scotus (Doctor Subtilis, who died in 1308), from whom his adherents were called Scotists;¹ 3. The dispute between the Arminians, or Remonstrants, called after Jacob van Arminius, who died in 1609, and the Anti-Remonstrant Calvinists, beginning towards the end of the sixteenth century; 4. That between the Jesuits and the Jansenists in the end of the seventeenth century.

I will merely take their different epochs, and state to which side each party inclined.

The Pelagians (A.D. 400) virtually, and often openly, when hard pressed, rejected all Grace, denied the necessity of Divine aid, and said, in fact, that “the condition of all men is such that they *can* turn and prepare themselves, by their own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God.” Augustine wrote vehemently against these, so as to have given rise to the notion that he utterly denied the agency of man in the work of redemption; but this view of his opinion is, as we shall see, erroneous, though it is true of many of his followers.

Taking the epochs just named, then, those who exalted Free-will, more or less to the depreciation of Divine aid, were—

1. The Pelagians, A.D. 400.
2. The Scotists, amongst the schoolmen, A.D. 1308, otherwise Franciscans.
3. The Arminians or Remonstrants, A.D. 1607.
4. The Jesuits, a Roman Catholic order founded by Ignatius Loyola, A.D. 1546.

Those who dwelt upon Divine aid, more or less to the depreciation of human agency, were—

1. The followers of St. Augustine.
2. The Thomists or Dominicans.
3. The Calvinists or Anti-Remonstrants.
4. The Port-Royal Jansenists; so called from Cornelius Jansen, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ypres, who died in 1638. He left his “*Augustinus*” ready for the press; it was published in 1640, and condemned in 1649.

¹ To show the extent to which the controversy was carried, I may just mention that the Index to the *Summa Theologiae* of Aquinas contains eight or nine columns closely printed in folio under the word *Gratia*.

I do not mean that this division correctly represents all the shades of opinion. There were, in fact, shades on both sides; so that we have semi-Pelagians, semi-Arminians, and the like.

The worst extreme on the one side is probably that of the Socinians, who deny the existence and the necessity of Grace; and on the other, the Antinomians, who held Grace to be irresistible, which tenet implies all human endeavours to be unnecessary.

We now come to the doctrine of our own Church, which, moderate in all things, is moderate in this, that she has not defined too much, but has left some parts of this controversy, in its less extreme phases, as open questions; the consequence of which is, that in different ages one shade of opinion appears to prevail generally at one time within the Church, and another at another time; not as inculcating laxity as to the way in which the Articles are to be understood (as has been vainly imagined), but wisely and evidently admitting a certain degree of latitude in things which cannot be defined: in theory and practice holding both as truths, and so interpreting the one as not to neutralize the other. In short, the Church of England seems to have adopted the sentiments of St. Augustine in his Epistle to Valentinus: "Si non est Dei Gratia, quomodo salvat mundum? si non est liberum arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum?"¹ and again, *De Gratia Christi*, "Quia ista quaestio, ubi de arbitrio voluntatis et Dei Gratia disputatur, ita est ad discernendum difficilis, ut quando defenditur liberum arbitrium, negari Dei Gratia videatur; quando autem asseritur Dei Gratia, liberum arbitrium putetur auferri;"² or again, as it was expressed in "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man," a book published by the authority of Henry VIII., A.D. 1543: "All men be also to be monished, and chiefly preachers, that in this high matter they, looking on both sides, so attemper and moderate themselves, that neither they so preach the grace of God that they take away thereby free-will, nor again so extol free-will that injury be done to the grace of God."

The Article divides itself into two parts, the terms in the first of which now come under our consideration.

"Turn and prepare" are expressions derived immediately from St. Luke i. 17, where this "turning and preparing" is declared to be the function of John the Baptist.

¹ Aug. Epist. cxxiv. 2.

² Id. *de Gratia Christi*, c. 47, 52; *cp. de Gratia et libero Arbitrio*, i. 1.

From the phrase "by his *own natural* strength and good works," we gather that man has some natural strength, and some good works he may have, before he is turned to faith and calling upon God. Therefore the heathen may attain, and have attained, to virtue, but not to Christian virtue, for this is meant by "faith and calling upon God:" a man cannot become a Christian nor act as a Christian by his own strength.

And why cannot he? Because he *will* not. The difficulty is primarily seated in the corruption of the will; the will is free, but by nature it is unworthy of trust—not to be depended on for right choice. The will takes its rise in the heart, out of which, our Saviour said, proceed those things which defile a man,—“evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies.”¹ Accordingly, man’s heart is not willing, because his heart is corrupt.

You will observe that I have considered the heathen to be principally intended in this first proposition, but I would by no means affirm that they are meant exclusively: there is unhappily a large body of men, even baptized men, even in very deed the children of grace, who, without actually ceasing to be God’s children (unless they have actually and openly apostatized or committed the unpardonable sin), have in a manner, and perhaps only for a time, gone far towards disinheriting themselves, who, if they die in that lapsed state, are lost, and absolutely forfeit their privileges as heirs, but who may repent and be restored. Of these men it may be said, though not quite in the same sense, yet virtually to the same effect, as it is said of the heathens, that “they cannot turn and prepare themselves by their own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.” They need repentance: they must be renewed unto repentance: but it would not be in their natural strength as man, but in their renewed capacities as Christians. Their “good works,” like those of the heathen, are of no avail towards their salvation, unless they are done upon Christian principles, and spring from a divinely imparted faith; and then only for Christ’s sake, and by the aid of the Holy Spirit; all of which is implied in what I called Christian principles. And this is true, in whatever degree, great or small, any of us have committed wilful sin: if we are enabled to forsake it and repent of it, it must be not in the remains of our natural strength as men, but in our superinduced strength as Christians.

Qualified then with these obvious distinctions which exist

¹ St. Matthew xv. 19.

between the heathen and lapsed Christians, the first proposition is of universal application,—the distinctions manifestly being that the unbaptized heathen requires conversion strictly so called, conversion from his natural state to a state of grace, from being by nature the child of wrath to his being by means of baptism a child of grace, of which conversion the Holy Spirit is the inward agent, our blessed Lord is the meritorious cause, and baptism by God's appointment, and not from any efficacy in the water, is the outward means. This, in a theological sense, and according to the clear and consistent teaching of our Church, is strictly the conversion of the heathen, differing in some essential particulars from the conversion, improperly so called, which is sometimes confounded with it, the conversion, or rather reconversion, of the sinning Christian to faith and calling upon God: which, in proportion as faith has been lost, and God forgotten, approximates to the process which is necessary in the case of the heathen, but which it is better to distinguish from that process by calling it repentance as respects the human agent, and renewal as respects the restoration of grace by God's Holy Spirit. In short, the difference between the two classes, the heathen and the sinning Christian, is this: that in the sinning Christian the privileges of Christian spiritual life are dormant but not dead, inactive but not utterly paralysed; whereas in the heathen the Christian spiritual life is not yet begun; it never was in him: in the one, original sin is in its natural unmitigated form, in the other, the remnants of it remain in the baptized: but in whatever degree it is still present, it is true in both instances that man cannot turn himself to faith and calling upon God, nay, he cannot so much as prepare himself for it, by his own strength, because that strength is weakness: nor by his own good works, because those works, if not done in a Christian spirit, are not in themselves acceptable to God. What is wanted is preventive grace (of which we shall speak presently), in order to dispose our wills, in the one case to embrace Christianity, in the other to fulfil its requirements, and to love God with all the heart and mind and strength.

Thus much may suffice for the explanation of the first proposition; the proof of it was in reality involved in that of the first part of the last Article, and the proofs which will be offered for the second part of this Article (which is a consequent proposition, as shown by the word "wherefore") will serve retrospectively for the first, of which it is the consequence. However, we will refer to some passages which directly prove the point. These are—

Rom. viii. 8 ; 1 Cor. ii. 14—For the general inability of man to turn.

Eph. ii. 8 ; Phil. i. 29—To show that faith is a gift from God.

Rom. viii. 26, x. 14—To show that calling on God is a Divine impulse.

And so we conclude that man “cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God.”

And now turning to the second proposition, beginning “wherefore,” I would call upon you to observe that this latter proposition is not simply a further development of the same identical truth as that contained in the first, it is not merely the same truth in other words, but it is strictly and logically an inference, a new and further truth logically consequent on the first. This is an example which may serve to show the extreme care with which the Articles were drawn up, and in this case how carefully the new part of the Article was fitted on to the old ; which originally, as you will remember, began “*absque gratia Christi*.” For, first, the object to be attained is different ; in the first man cannot attain to faith ; in the second we cannot attain to good works ; in the first he cannot have the seed or germ of good actions ; in the second we cannot have the fruits, which are “good works, pleasant and acceptable to God ;” so that even faith is made operative by God’s grace. Secondly, the first proposition states that fallen man cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works ; the second states what it is without which a Christian cannot act in a Christian manner ; which implies that there are some methods by which he can so act. Moreover, the first clause is general, relating to all mankind in their fallen state ; in the second clause the person is changed, so that it should relate only to regenerate Christians. Therefore the full difference between the two sentences may be expressed thus : “Fallen man cannot so much as attain faith by his own strength ; the Christian man can attain, not only faith, but good works, by preventing or co-operative grace, and by these aids alone.”

The last proposition of Article x. asserts the impossibility of doing good Christian works without grace in Christ ; and that of two kinds, preventive grace and co-operative or concurrent grace. The word “grace,” or *χάρις*, in the New Testament has several senses, and they are often so near to each other that it is not always easy to see which meaning is intended. Thus it means “favour,” “thanks,” etc., and a

very usual meaning of the word, in one shade or another, is "Divine aid gratuitously afforded by the Holy Spirit for the sake of Christ." I had once occasion to examine all the passages, and I believe I found eighty or ninety places in which the word appeared to me to have this meaning, or something scarcely distinguishable from it. At all events, in Christian theology from very early times the word "*gratia*" has been used distinctively in this sense, and there is abundant authority in Holy Scripture for this use. We mean, then, the assistance of the Holy Spirit operating in some inscrutable way upon our souls; and the result of these operations we call in one word "sanctification." The words "in Christ" are added to show that it is to Him we are indebted for all our spiritual privileges; that the agency of the Holy Spirit is consequent upon our Lord's Redemption; that the day of Pentecost would not have witnessed the descent of the Holy Spirit unless Easter Day had witnessed Christ's triumph over the Cross. Hence the Holy Spirit, though the immediate agent in sanctification, is often called the Spirit of Christ.

This grace the Article teaches us is of two kinds in regard to its effects upon man,—preventive grace, that we may have a good will, and co-operative grace, *i.e.* as the Article expresses it, grace "working with us when we have that good-will." And the reason why it is necessary to be thus particular is that the semi-Pelagians, while they differed from Pelagius inasmuch as they held the doctrine of concurrent or co-operative grace, denied that of preventive grace. In fact, though by the same Spirit, there is, as it would seem, a diversity in the operations.

Now it is hardly necessary to remind you that the word "prevent" is not used in its ordinary signification. From its etymology, *prae venio*, it naturally comes also to mean "to anticipate," "to come before," "to take the initiative," "to impel" or "induce."

The word "co-operative," or "concurrent," implies the joint spiritual agency of God and regenerate man, *i.e.* that God has so ordered our spiritual nature towards our spiritual well-being, that He is pleased to work with us, not to drive us irresistibly as mere responsible machines, but to deal with us as rational, accountable, voluntary agents; to make His Divine aid work with our enlightened and spiritualized efforts. We therefore must not be idle or passive, but actively endeavour ourselves. We have, in short (to anticipate some of our proofs), to "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling," not only although, but because ("for"),

"it is God who worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure."¹

With regard to the proof of this doctrine, even the heathen bear witness to the universal craving for Divine aid, but direct testimony is found in Scripture.

1. With respect to grace generally, in Deut. viii. 12-18; Jerem. x. 23; St. Luke xi. 13; Phil. ii. 13; St. James i. 17.

2. With respect to preventing grace, in Psalm cxix. 18; St. John vi. 44; 1 Cor. iv. 7,² vii. 25;³ Eph. ii. 8; 2 Cor. iii. 5;⁴ Phil. ii. 13 again.

We come next to "assisting," "concurring," or "co-operative grace," all of these terms implying two things: 1. Our own working and operation; 2. God's assisting or co-operation, implying thus the joint agency, as by God's appointment, of God and man in the act of doing good works pleasant and acceptable unto God.

I need not repeat that this kind of grace was denied totally by the Pelagians.

Proofs of its necessity are found in Psalm cxix. 27, ci. 10, 11, 12, 13 (though in these two passages it is difficult to say whether the Psalmist refers to preventing or co-operating grace, or perhaps both); in St. John xv. 5; Rom. v. 3-5; 1 Cor. xii. 6, xv. 10; Phil. i. 6; Heb. xiii. 20, 21.

With these very clear testimonies from Holy Scripture, I do not think it necessary to quote passages from the Fathers, whose writings are in truth full of them. I might refer you to St. Augustine's work, *de Gratia et libero Arbitrio*, published separately in *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Vindex Catholicus*; and to St. Chrysostom's Sermons, those, for instance, on St. Matthew, which always end with "*ἡμεῖς ἐλπίζομεν ἐν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*"

I shall conclude this Article by showing how largely the Church of England has embodied the spirit of the doctrine into her prayers, always the best test of the vital acceptance of doctrine by the Church. I give only a few specimens, but

¹ Phil. ii. 13.

² St. Augustine in his earlier days was inclined to semi-Pelagianism; he declares that he was converted by this text (Aug. *de Praedest. Sanct.* -c. iii. 7.)

³ St. Augustine remarks on this text, "*Non enim dixit, Misericordiam consecutus sum, quia fidelis eram, sed ut fidelis essem*" (*de Gratia et libero Arbitrio*, c. vii. 17; cp. *de Praedest. Sanct.* c. ii. 4.)

⁴ On this text St. Augustine points out that *a fortiori* we cannot believe anything as of ourselves, since "*necesse est ut omnia quae creduntur, praevieniente cogitatione credantur*" (*Ib.* c. ii. 5).

I have ground for saying that almost every prayer, directly or indirectly, asks for grace.

Examples are found in the third Collect for Morning Prayer, the Prayer for the Queen, the Prayer for the Clergy and People, the second Collect for Evening Prayer, the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, the Prayer for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Litany; the suffrage that all the people may receive "increase of Thy grace to hear meekly Thy Word," etc.; that the Lord will "strengthen such as do stand, and comfort and help the weak-hearted;" that He will "endue us with the grace of His Holy Spirit, to amend our lives according to His Holy Word."

But especially in the Collects, as in those for Easter Day, the 5th Sunday after Easter, the 3d, 9th, 17th, 19th, and 25th Sundays after Trinity.

It would be improper to close this Article without advertising, though to do more would take too much time, to the means of grace provided for you,¹ or without expressing my earnest hope that you have considered this momentous subject practically, for your own benefit in your own lives. There are two opposite extremes open to your adoption,—either to do despite to the Spirit of Grace, to resist Him, to deny and blaspheme Him; or to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit to your own growth in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

¹ On this subject see Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures for 1844.

ARTICLE XI.

ARTICULUS XI.

De Hominis Iustificatione.

TANTUM propter meritum Domini, ac Servatoris nostri Iesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera, et merita nostra, iusti coram Deo reputamur. Quare sola fide nos iustificari, doctrina est saluberrima, ac consolationis plenissima, ut in homilia de iustificatione hominis fusius explicatur.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

WE are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings; Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

IN the edition of 1552 this Article was preceded by one "de Gratia." The Eleventh Article was much shorter, being practically the second clause of the present Article, with considerable verbal but no essential difference. In the English it runs thus:—"Justification by onely faith in Jesus Christ, in that sence as it is declared in the homelie of Justification, is a most certeine and holesome doctrine for Christien menne." It will be seen that more is referred to the Homily in the first edition of the Articles than in the last, a difference not without importance, as will be seen hereafter.

The right understanding of the Article turns principally on the Latin edition, that is, it seems more clearly to give a definite idea of meaning than the English.

The question of justification, again, has been a fruitful source of controversy. Differences of opinion no doubt have arisen from the inherent difficulty of the subject, as well as from some apparent discrepancies between St. Paul and St. James, but much more from a want of sufficient definition of the terms. "Justify," "Faith," "Works," "Merits," have been understood by different writers in entirely distinct senses; some who agree in the definition of one word differ in that of another, and the consequence has been that they have seemed to each other respectively in error, whilst they were all the time much nearer to each other than they

imagined. It is not my intention to enter into these controversies or their causes at length, but I give you the key, which you may hereafter use for yourselves. And I shall proceed to state the meaning which our Church appears to assign to the words. The form in which the Article is drawn up is quite in keeping with the moderation and wisdom shown by our Church, and with the main object of the compilation,—the avoiding diversities of opinion in matters of religion. For it is difficult to conceive how any Protestant can read the proposition so expressed without concurring in its truth. At the same time, without presuming too far in stating the doctrine, it is couched in such terms as to protest against the corruptions of doctrine which had found their way into the Church of Rome.

“Justification” is the word used in the title. The Greek word is *δικαιοσύνη*, which occurs very frequently in the Greek Testament, much more so than the reader of the English version would imagine, inasmuch as it is often translated “righteousness.” The same may be said of the Latin word *Justitia* in the Vulgate. There is often a doubt which translation should be used. On the other hand, there are two places where the word “justification” is a translation of the word *δικαίωσις*,—Rom. iv. 25 and v. 18. *A priori*, this word *δικαίωσις*, coming from a word in *-όω*, would have appeared more appropriate than *δικαιοσύνη*, which rather expresses in its first meaning the abstract quality of justice. It is needless to go through the meanings of the word *δικαιοσύνη*, as it is clearly used here as a technical expression for “the being accounted righteous.” This is shown by the first words, “we are accounted righteous,” compared with the entirely equivalent phrase, “we are justified,” in the last clause, it being evident that the same subject is meant in both places. Otherwise you would have a premiss in one sense and the conclusion in another, which would render the whole illogical. “We are accounted.” Not “we are,” for of ourselves we are not, as was implied in Article x. Some imperfection, some amount of sin, cleaves to the best.

The words *δικαιοσύνη*, *δικαίωω*, *δικαίωσις*, then, are clearly words having reference to something judicial: some sentence before a tribunal, *coram judice*, and here some sentence “*coram Deo*,” in God’s sight, or a sentence “before the judgment-seat of Christ.” Now a sentence may be one of condemnation or of acquittal. The first meaning was probably one of condemnation (as the Scotch word “justify” sometimes means “to inflict execution of death”); but the second technical meaning was acquittal; not acquittal in the sense of not deserving

punishment, but in that of punishment being remitted, as if the party being not guilty were equivalent to his being looked upon as not guilty: "*justus reputatus*."

"*Justi reputamur*."—The present tense is important, because it decides which of two senses our Church adopts. I should tell you that divines have often considered that there are two kinds of justification, the word being used in both cases in a judicial sense; the one called our first justification, which takes place on our admission into Christianity, that is, on our baptism, and which continues so long as our baptismal privileges are not wholly forfeited, signifying the general state of favour in which Christians stand in God's sight; called in our Church Catechism "this state of salvation." The other is the final justification, which means our salvation after death, when we shall be finally cleansed of all our sins, and wholly forgiven before the judgment-seat of Christ. The first is initial, the second complete, and the one a step to the other.¹ Which of these two meanings of justification our Church takes is evident from the present tense: "we are accounted," *i.e.* we Christians, as we are, are accounted; and this is further confirmed by the next two Articles, the one speaking of works following after justification, which can only be in the sense of justification in this world, and the other of works done before justification, saying that they are not pleasant to God. Therefore our Church understands here our first justification.

The next word which requires our attention is "*propter*," which in English is "for," hardly so definite a word. It might have been more nearly translated "on account of." On this word very much of the clearness of the Article depends, as it expresses what in theology is called the "meritorious cause." We are accounted so "*propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi*." This states what is the meritorious cause of our justification; the next clause, "*non propter opera et merita nostra*," states what is not the meritorious cause; and the word "only" limits justification to Christ's merits to the exclusion of all and every the slightest human merit in the work of justification. We must remember the word "only" when we come in the next clause to the words "justified by faith only." We cannot be justified by two things *only*, and by each of them *only*. We must therefore construe that clause with due regard to this.

¹ The same division is sometimes made in the case of the word "Salvation."

We are not now proving either of these propositions, but only explaining the terms.

Nor is it less important to lay some stress on the next preposition, "*per*," "by:" which, as well as the ablative "*sola fide*" in the latter part of the Article, expresses the means by which (I am not now speaking of what are technically called means of grace) we lay hold on this justification. *Propter* expresses what Christ does, "*per*," or again the instrumental ablative "*sola fide*," that which man by the aid of God's Holy Spirit is enabled to do, so as to lay hold of the free gift which comes from Christ alone; and the means by which we apply this gift to ourselves is "faith." What then is this "faith"? Clearly that by which we believe in Jesus Christ, in all the facts of His life and death, in all the articles of the Christian faith, in the whole scheme of redemption, together with all the promises and consequences therefrom resulting, including the personal interest and share which each believer has in those promises; the belief in these being a certain relation between all the truths and hopes of the gospel covenant, and the individual's soul. It is the belief that Christ has shed His blood for men; that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin;"¹ that He has opened unto us the gates of everlasting life, which, but for His might and merits, would have been closed against us.

But this faith cannot be cold and dead; such stupendous mercies must give rise to gratitude and love, to a desire to be like God, to be near Him, to enjoy His constant favour and presence, to live in Him and through Him. This, however, cannot be, unless we obey His will, and His will is our sanctification. Therefore our sanctification is an inseparable adjunct of our faith; it is a living faith, a faith that worketh by love, by which we lay hold of the promise of eternal life, gratuitously purchased for us by Christ's merits and death.

I may add that the apparent discrepancy between St. Paul and St. James, which is only apparent, is to be solved in this manner. St. Paul is speaking of faith in the sense just explained. This part of his writings (being amongst those things which, as St. Peter tells us,² are hard to be understood) had been falsely interpreted, as if he excluded the fruits of faith; and St. James's language is intended, not to correct St. Paul, with whom he fully agrees, but to correct the erroneous interpretation of St. Paul's words.³

¹ 1 St. John iv. 7.

² 2 St. Peter iii. 15, 16.

³ See the *Harmonia Apostolica* of Bp. Bull, Diss. 2.

The word "*merita*" now remains to be explained. This means one thing in the connexion "*meritum Christi*," and another in that of "*merita nostra*;" and that because of the subject-matter, because of the persons of whom merit is predicated; for the merits of Christ are incommensurable compared with those of men—in the same proportion as one is an infinite being, and the other a finite creature. And for this reason the English edition varies the word by which *meritum* is translated in respect of Christ, and in respect of man; "the merits of Christ," and "the deservings of man," which the Latin, less unequivocally, marks by the singular "*meritum*" applied to Christ, compared with "*merita nostra*."

The phrase "*meritum Christi*" accordingly signifies His sacrifice, death, satisfaction, and atonement, by which, as with a price or *meritum*, He purchased salvation for us. The works and deservings of men mean only those actions (imperfect as they are) to which, by God's mercy in Christ, and not in any sense for their own sake, as price or deservings, a reward is promised; the word "reward" being used inappropriately as the word which approaches to the truth, the reward being in no sense wages earned, but the free and gratuitous gift of God.

But this is not all that the word *merita* is meant to convey. Our Reformers not only meant to deny that our justification is in any way attributable to our own works and deservings, in the common obvious sense of these words, but they understood by the words *opera* and *merita* the sense in which these words were corruptly held by the Church of Rome, being taken to signify pilgrimages, giving money for masses, frequenting particular shrines, or even using beads and rosaries, which even before the Reformation "were made most high and most holy things, whereby to attain to the everlasting life or remission of sins."¹ The Article, therefore, must be understood to deny that our justification is owing to any of these observances.

We are now in a condition to proceed from the explanation of the terms of the Article, taken singly, to consider the scope of the whole.

The Article is divisible into two propositions: the first asserting what is the only meritorious cause of our justification, and therefore that our own deservings are excluded; the second predicating the wholesomeness and comfortable nature of the doctrine, referring at the same time to one of the Homilies for a more enlarged account of the whole.

¹ See the third part of the Homily of Good Works, p. 63.

The truth of the first proposition concerning the true meritorious cause of justification, may be inferred from St. Luke xvii. 10, which shows that, so far from being justified by our works, we are but unprofitable servants; but the chief argument is to be found in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians: see especially Rom. iii. 23-26, x. 4, in respect of justification being "*propter meritum Christi*:" and Rom. x. 9, Rom. iii. 28, Gal. ii. 16, and Gal. iii. 8, 9, for its being "*per fidem*."¹

The negative side of the proposition, that justification is not "*propter opera et merita nostra*," may be seen from 1 Cor. iv. 4, and Gal. ii. 16; and both parts together from Rom. viii. 3-6.

The second proposition states the wholesomeness and comfortableness of the doctrine delivered in the first; for although the form of expression is somewhat varied, yet it is clear that what is meant in the first clause by justification by faith must be meant likewise in the second clause. Otherwise it would be illogical to connect them together by the word "wherefore." We must remember also what we said about the word "only." It should be observed that it occurs twice apparently but not really: "only" (*tantum*) "for the merit of Christ;" and "by faith only" (*sola fide*); for we cannot predicate justification for the sake of Christ *only*, and justification by faith *only*, each exclusively of the other; but if such only applies to each sentence at all, it must be in a sense which is applicable to both: therefore "by faith only" is not opposed to "for Christ's merit only," but it is something consistent with it. In fact, it is simply a short expression implying the merits of Christ: and the last clause would in strictness of speech run thus:—"Wherefore that we are justified or accounted righteous only (*tantum*) on account of Christ's merit, and that by faith only (*sola fide*) is a wholesome doctrine;" in other words, the only meritorious cause, in the last clause, as in the first, of our justification is in Christ's merit: the only means by which God enables us to apply that merit to ourselves is faith.

Now the proof of the second proposition consists merely in showing that the doctrine is wholesome and full of comfort,—wholesome, because it serves to exclude all human pride

¹ The force of "*propter meritum*," "*per fidem*," may be illustrated from our Communion Office: "Grant that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, we and all Thy whole Church may receive remission of our sins (*i.e.* justification), and all other benefits of His Passion."

and presumption, which are qualities absolutely inconsistent with the whole spirit and letter of the Christian religion; wholesome, because it teaches us the absolute necessity (if we would go down to our house justified) of avoiding all self-righteousness, such as that of the Pharisee praying in the temple, and of imitating the publican in his heartfelt acknowledgment of his own unworthiness; full of comfort, because in place of something in which we could place no dependence, it substitutes our Almighty Saviour's merits, who made full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; full of comfort, because it assures us that, if we love Him and keep His commandments, that is, if we have a lively faith, a faith working by love, we are and shall be, for His sake only, accounted righteous before God.

In order to confirm this view of the value and comfort of this doctrine, the Article refers us to one of the Homilies, not, in the last edition, appealing to it as authority or for proof of the doctrine, so much as for explanation of the compilers' sentiments with respect to its importance and comfort. I have before observed to you that the Homilies (of which the 1st Book dates from 1547, under Cranmer, and the 2d from 1560, being chiefly due to Bishop Jewel) have some authority in our Church, as is recognised in Article xxxv., but not now the same kind or degree of authority as that assigned to the Articles or the Liturgy. In the edition of the Articles of 1551 the degree of weight attached to the Homily in the corresponding Article xi. is considerably greater: "Justification by only faith in Jesus Christ, in that sense as it is declared in the Homilie of Justification, is a most certain and wholesome doctrine for Christian men." So that in that edition the Homily was, as it were, almost incorporated into the Article; it was essential to look for the definition in the Homily, not merely for an enlarged view of the comfort. In the present edition the Article is much more definite in itself: the Homily is referred to more in the way of illustration than as part of the proof: not that I mean to deny the soundness and cogency of the argument as treated in the Homily itself.

The Homily referred to is one in three parts, in the 1st (or Cranmer's) Book, but not bearing the name of the "Homily of Justification," but "Of the Salvation of Mankind by only Christ our Saviour from Sin and Death everlasting." It is too long to read publicly at length, but is worth studying privately when you have an opportunity. It would also take too long to examine the testimonies of the Fathers on this point, of which, however, a collection has been made by Bishop

Jewel,¹ who may be well consulted for further confirmation of the doctrine.

On the whole, sufficient has been said to show the doctrine of our Church to be intelligible and true. Much more might of course be said, but it would belong to the higher branch of theology.

I will only add, that as the Article is directed against the errors of the Church of Rome, so it gives no countenance on the other hand to the errors into which many sects of Protestants have fallen, such as the Solifidians, who rely on Faith, as they call it, to the total exclusion of Good Works, or to others resembling them, sometimes known as Fiducians, who seem to think that all that they have to do is to place confidence in their own salvation as certain whatever may be their way of life.²

The Eleventh Article, which we are just concluding, contained the doctrine of our Church respecting (1.) the only meritorious cause of our justification; (2.) faith as the instrument whereby we lay hold on eternal life. I therefore thought it better to confine our consideration to these points; but I cannot quit the subject without adverting to the divinely appointed means (as distinguished from the cause) by which we are brought into a justified state, or a "state of salvation." Indeed, the knowledge of the doctrine of our Church under this head is essential to the understanding of the following Articles. Our Church, then, although in this Article she is silent on the subject, does yet connect the first justification, as distinguished from continued justification and from final justification; in short, *the beginning* of our state of salvation she connects with Holy Baptism. In the evangelical notion of justification, whatever else is or is not included, two things confessedly are included: the actual remission of sins and a title to the gospel promises and to final salvation, a title of course defeasible by our own fault. But these are the very privileges of Holy Baptism; and so when our Church in her Baptismal Offices speaks of the "release from sin," "delivery from wrath," "remission of sin," or, in her Catechism, of "a state of salvation," into which we are brought by baptism, or, in her Confirmation Service, of "the forgiveness of all their sins" given to regenerate persons, the same connexion between Justification and Holy Baptism is intended. And this teaching is amply con-

¹ Jewel's Defence of the Apology, Part ii. c. 20, div. i. in vol. v. p. 246.

² See on this point Laurence's Bampton Lectures, p. 137, and cp. Waterland on Justification, vol. vi. p. 30.

firmed by Scripture, as in the following passages: St. Mark xvi. 16, where "saved" is opposed to "damned," and therefore is equivalent to "justified;" St. John iii. 3-5; Acts ii. 38; Acts ix. 6, compared with xxii. 16; 1 Cor. vi. 11; Col. ii. 11-13; Tit. iii. 5-7; 1 St. Pet. iii. 21; Heb. x. 21-23—which last passage mentions the cause, or instrumental means of conveyance, *i.e.* baptism, and the instrumental means of reception, *i.e.* faith.¹

These are sufficient to show the Scriptural ground of the doctrine, which might be largely confirmed by Christian antiquity. Hence we have in the Nicene Creed, "I believe one Baptism for the remission of sins."

¹ See these and other texts fully handled in Waterland on Justification, vol. vi. p. 10.

ARTICLE XII.

ARTICULUS XII.

De Bonis Operibus.

BONA opera, quæ sunt fructus fidei, et iustificatos sequuntur, quanquam peccata nostra expiare, et divini iudicii severitatem ferre non possunt: Deo tamen grata sunt, et accepta in Christo, atque ex vera et viva fide necessario profluunt, ut plane ex illis æque fides viva cognosci possit, atque arbor ex fructu iudicari.

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

ALBEIT that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgement; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith; insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

IN the edition of 1552 there was no Article corresponding to this. Comparing the Latin and English versions, we notice that "*justificatos sequuntur*" is rendered "follow after justification," instead of "follow men when they are justified:" and that for "*expiare*" we have the somewhat vaguer expression "put away."

The Article involves four propositions:—

1. A description of good works, what they are.¹
2. Their incapability of justifying us.
3. Their acceptance in God's sight, when done in Christ.
4. Their origin and principle.
 1. *a.* Good works, in a Christian sense, are the fruits of faith. This may be seen from Heb. xi. 4, St. James ii. 17, 18, St. Matt. vii. 16, Tit. iii. 8.
 1. *β.* "*Justificatos sequuntur*," *i.e.* sanctification is a consequence of justification. For this see Eph. i. 4, Phil. i. 11.
 2. *a.* They cannot justify us. This has already been proved under Article xi.
 2. *β.* So far from justifying, they cannot of themselves even endure the severity of God's wrath—*i.e.* cannot endure

¹ Some have interpreted the beginning of the Article as though it meant, "Such good works as are the fruits of faith."—See Hey, vol. iii. p. 336.

God's wrath unless tempered with mercy; such as it might be if the Lord should be extreme to mark what is done amiss. This clause appears to have been borrowed from the Confession of Wirtemberg in 1552, which is a great improvement on Luther's own statements. In its Article "*De bonis Operibus*" we find, "Omnia bona opera, quae nos facimus, imperfecta sunt, nec possunt severitatem divini iudicii ferre." The proof of the doctrine is found in Job xv. 14, 15, ix. 2, 3,¹ Ps. cxliii. 2, cxxx. 3.

We may add St. Augustine, Epist. clxviii. ad Hieron.: "Virtus est Charitas, qua id quod diligendum est diligitur. Haec in aliis maior, in aliis minor, in aliis nulla est; plenissima vero quae iam non possit augeri, quamdiu hic homo vivit, est in nemine; quamdiu autem augeri potest, profecto illud quod minus est quam debet ex vitio est."

Again, St. Jerome on Gal. iv. 258 (Bened. ed. Ep. 168, tom. ii. 600): "Sciant, absque Christo nullum vivere; sine quo omnis virtus ex vitio est."

3. Good works of Christians are pleasing and acceptable to God *in Christ*—i.e. for Christ's sake: cp. Eph. iv. 32, where "for Christ's sake" is the translation of ἐν Χριστῷ. We find evidence to the same effect in the parable of the Vine (St. John xv. 4), and in Gal. v. 6, Eph. ii. 10, Phil. i. 11.

This Article shows how utterly groundless are the calumnies of Roman Catholic writers, and of the so-called Council of Trent, when they say that the whole religion of the Protestants consists of bare faith, and that they reject good works as unnecessary things. It is true that some sectarians have done so; but it will be found that not only the Church of England, but the foreign Protestants in their Confessions, carefully repudiate the charge. It was indeed impossible that those who profess to take Holy Scripture as their guide could hold any other doctrine than that expressed in this clause. The only difficulty in proving it is in making a selection of texts. The following may suffice:—1 Thess. iv. 7; Tit. ii. 12, 14, iii. 8; Rom. xiii. 10; 1 St. John v. 2; St. James ii. 14-17; 1 St. Pet. i. 5.

The teaching of our Church might be further illustrated by the first part of the Homily on Justification.

4. The principle of the good works of Christians is a

¹ See St. Gregory on the passage, Moral. ix. 2: "Sanctus vir, quia omnis virtutis nostrae meritum esse vitium conspicit, si ab interno arbitrio distincte iudicetur, recte subiungit, 'Si volueris contendere cum eo, non poteris respondere unus pro mille.'" And again, c. 18: "Omnis humana iniustitia iniustitia esse convincitur, si distincte iudicatur."

true and lively faith, the proof of which has been taken simultaneously with that of the last proposition. The emphatic words in this clause are "necessarily," and "true and lively;" the last expression being used also in the second part of the Homily on Faith: "All Holy Scripture beareth witness that a true lively faith in Christ doth bring forth good works." The doctrine is confirmed by St. Matt. vii. 16, "Ye shall know them by their fruits;" *id.* xii. 33, "The tree is known by its fruit;" and St. John xv. 2, "Every branch in me that beareth not fruit He taketh away."

ARTICLE XIII.

ARTICULUS XIII.

De operibus ante Iustificationem.

OPERA quae fiunt ante gratiam Christi, et Spiritus eius afflatum, cum ex fide Iesu Christi non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt; neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur. Immo cum non sint facta, ut Deus illa fieri voluit et praecepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of works before Justification.

WORKS done before the grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

THIS is really a corollary on the preceding four Articles. From Article IX. we learn that men as such are at enmity with God, and have evil propensities; and from Articles XI. and XII. that Christian men are released from a state of enmity, and placed in a condition to please God in Christ, even by actions still imperfect. If then men are under God's displeasure, and even Christian virtues are only accepted through Christ, what must be the consequence in regard to heathen virtues?

The three editions of this Article, in the main, agree with each other; the greater precision of the English version, "as the School-authors say," for "ut multi vocant," being found in the edition of 1552 as well as that of 1571.

The Article was intended partly against the Pelagians, who contended the good actions of the heathen are in themselves acceptable to God, a question already disposed of under Article x., and partly against the Romanists, in their vain distinction between merit "*ex congruo*" and "*ex condigno*." This distinction was derived from the scholastic theology, the origin of which is very obscure. "It was the great object of Scholasticism to analyse Christian dogmas by means of dialectics, to develop them by speculation, and to show their inherent truth and necessity. Generally speak-

ing, Scholasticism adopted, expounded, and defended the ecclesiastical views already in vogue."¹ It was still in its infancy, early in the twelfth century, in the course of which the most renowned teacher was Petrus Lombardus, Master of the Sorbonne, and from 1159 Bishop of Paris, who died in 1164; it may be said to have reached maturity in the thirteenth century, with Alexander Halesius, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and John Duns Scotus; and to have sunk into old age from about 1320 to the fifteenth century.

There are two propositions, each with its attendant reason, the first proposition being divisible into two parts:—

1. *a.* Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Holy Spirit, are not pleasant to God. For this see St. Matt. vii. 16, Rom. iii. 9, 10, 19, viii. 7, 8.

1. *β.* "Non merentur gratiam de congruo." This I must explain. When the Church of Rome had advanced her doctrine of *merits* (of which I spoke under Article x.), they divided merit into two kinds:—1. Merit *ex congruo*; 2. Merit *ex condigno*. The first is defined as "a work to which a reward is not strictly due, but only from its fitness (*ex congruitate quadam*) to receive a reward as out of the liberality of the donor." To merit *ex condigno*, on the other hand, is to merit in such a way that "it would be unjust that a reward should not be allotted to it."

Merit *ex congruo* is said to apply to persons in a state of nature, *i.e.* to heathen; merit *ex condigno* to persons in a state of belief or grace.

I need not say that for these presumptuous distinctions there is no real foundation in Holy Scripture. With merit *ex condigno* we have at present no concern; its very arrogance and self-righteousness condemns it, when compared with the humility and self-condemnation which the Holy Scriptures declare to be indispensable in the Christian character.

For merit *ex congruo* the arguments generally given are those arising out of God's goodness in particular instances to heathens,—as to the Egyptian midwives in Exod. i. 20, 21; and to Nebuchadnezzar in Ezek. xxix. 18, 19, which are *nihil ad rem*, as the whole question there is of temporal rewards.

Another passage quoted is Zechariah i. 3, the very text which the Pelagians used, as is shown by St. Augustine (*de Gratia et lib. Arbitr.* v. 10); and we might answer it as St. Augustine did, that "our turning to God is God's gift," so that this text is on our side.

¹ Kurtz, History of the Christian Church, sect. 130.

The case of Cornelius in Acts x. is at first sight their strongest ground; but it must be remembered that, though not yet baptized, Cornelius was in some sense a believer already; for, as Gregory I. remarks, "His prayers and his alms were an evident proof of a believing spirit;" not of course of a properly Christian spirit, but of such a spirit as was in its degree acceptable to God, so that in His mercy He drew him; in a word, as Gregory says, "he did not come by works to faith, but by faith he came to works."¹

On the other hand, let it be remembered, first, that all the benefits of Christianity—pardon, restoration, spiritual aid, in short, redemption and all its consequences—are throughout Scripture² represented as matters of mere favour, simply gratuitous, which is in itself a sufficient answer to all notion of merit, either *ex congruo* or *ex condigno*; and secondly, that unbelievers are called "enemies to God,"³ "dead in sin,"⁴ "atheists or godless."⁵

Can it be that those to whom these terms were applicable could *merit* anything of God? but it is to virtuous heathens that merit *ex congruo* is applied.

We may add that if this doctrine were established it would overthrow not only the doctrine of preventive grace, which has been already proved, but that of man's fallen state, set forth in Article ix.

The reason on which both of the foregoing propositions are grounded, is because these works spring not of faith in Jesus Christ. There may be a degree of faith of an inferior kind, simply in the existence of a Moral Governor of the world; but it is the absence of Christian faith which prevents their being acceptable to God. "Without faith it is impossible to please Him, for he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him."⁶

2. "Yea rather, they have the nature of sin." This clause is better introduced in the Latin by "*immo*," as containing a further truth beyond the former, rather than a correction of it. With the phraseology we may compare that in Article ix., that "concupiscence hath the nature of sin."

¹ Greg. Magn. Hom. xix. in Ezech.

² As Eph. ii. 8, "By grace ye are saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God;" and Rom. iii. 24, "Being justified freely (*δωρεάν*) by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus."

³ Rom. v. 10.

⁴ Eph. ii. 5.

⁵ Eph. ii. 12, ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.

⁶ Heb. xi. 6.

It also contains a reason,—“because they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done.”

The passage that is apparently most direct and conclusive on this point is Rom. xiv. 23 : “Whatsoever is not of faith is sin;” but it is doubtful whether “faith” here means justifying faith, and not merely a firm conviction, as opposed to “doubtfulness of judgment concerning the lawfulness of some *indifferent things*.”¹ Other passages, however, which are free from this ambiguity, are St. John iii. 36, Acts xvii. 30, Rom. viii. 8, Tit. i. 15, and Heb. xi. 6, quoted above.

It may be said, What motive is there for passing this severe sentence on men in a state of nature? To this we answer :—

1. We pass no sentence but God’s; we say only as His Scriptures teach us. We are not saying that such men as Aristides, Titus, Socrates, are totally lost; we are only saying what their actions are in themselves. We may trust, in perfect consistency with the doctrine of this Article, that God has in store for the virtuous heathen, who has been a law unto himself, who has had no opportunity of believing, some uncovenanted mercies and blessings for Christ’s sake, though what their nature is we do not pretend to determine. There are plain intimations in St. Luke xii. 46 that punishment is proportioned to ignorance, and we may hope for something analogous in God’s judgment of heathen virtue. Yet still we cannot place these virtuous heathens on the same footing as virtuous Christians. Whatever may have been the opinion of divines of former days, most men, I should think, hold, in our Church, that natural virtue will meet with something which, for want of a better word, may be called reward; and that the benefits of the Christian sacrifice of “the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world,” may be retrospective and collateral also, extending, in some degree unknown, to those who lived virtuously before Christ’s Incarnation, and to those who are without the sphere of this saving knowledge. Such is the tenor of St. Paul’s words in Rom. xi. 14, 15. Yet, for all this, which is more or less conjectural, Christianity, as the only sure foundation of hope, is infinitely and immeasurably preferable.

¹ This last is the view of Bishop Sanderson; see his Sermon on the text, vol. ii. p. 109. At the same time, he strongly maintains the truth of the Article.

2. It tends to show the importance of embracing Christianity, and inducing others to do it ; for while the possible salvation of virtuous heathens is matter of inference, or rather of conjecture, the salvation, by covenant, of the Christian is certain, if he perseveres in Christian goodness, and is directed in all his actions by the rule of God's will, upon Christian principles.

ARTICLE XIV.

ARTICULUS XIV.

De Operibus Supererogationis.

OPERA quae supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia, et impietate praedicari. Nam illis declarant homines, non tantum se Deo reddere, quae tenentur, sed plus in eius gratiam facere quam deberent; cum aperte Christus dicat, Cum feceritis omnia quaecunque praecepta sunt vobis, dicite, Servi inutiles sumus.

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

VOLUNTARY Works besides, over and above, God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety: for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

THE several editions of this Article almost literally agree, except that, in the Latin, there is no explanation of "opera quae supererogationis vocant," the words being, in Latin, well-known technical terms.

This Article need not hold us long. It is, in fact, more properly connected with Article XXII., "On Indulgences," where it must also be considered in its bearing on the Church. It is brought in here in reference to the pernicious influence of the doctrine which it opposes upon individual Christians, and that in the midst of Articles about human merits, which show by contrast its utter untenableness and unchristian character.

Its title is first to be noticed—Of Works of Supererogation. The word (from *super*, and *erogo*, to spend, properly to spend with the consent of the people, after asking and obtaining their leave) means strictly, "the payment of more than is commanded or required." The verb is used in the Vulgate in St. Luke x. 35: "quodcunque supererogaveris," "whatever you pay more than the two pence."

These voluntary works, which the English version of the

Article says they call works besides, over and above God's commandment, are often called by the Roman writers *consilia*, as opposed to *praecepta*. *Praecepta*, according to them, apply to all, and are comparatively easy; *counsels* to few, by their own voluntary act, and are difficult. The notion is that an ordinary good Christian obeys all precepts, but he must be great and extraordinary, a sort of hero, who aims at counsels, which are often called evangelical perfections, relating principally to an entire abandonment of worldly goods for the sake of the Church, and also to the observation of celibacy. The origin of the distinction they trace to 1 Cor. vii. 6, 25,¹ 26, 40, and 2 Cor. viii. 8-10.

I need not say that St. Paul gives no countenance to the deduction of the Romanist condemned in the Article; but the notion is founded on these passages. It was only gradually that the distinction was suffered to take the dangerous form in which we find it in later Romish writers. Even the Fathers, as St. Augustine, following up a fanciful analogy in the parable of the Good Samaritan, gave some countenance to the distinction between *praecepta* and *consilia*, but not in regard to their respective merits. They compared the two pence to the definite duties of Christianity, comprised in the two commandments; and what was to be paid over (*supererogatum*), to mere advice, such as that of St. Paul about marriage in those times. In fact, they interpreted that passage in 1 Cor. vii. 25 by the application of this parable, but they did nothing more. It was not before the tenth or eleventh century, when the new doctrines of Purgatory, Satisfaction, and Indulgences were introduced, that the doctrine of Supererogation assumed its objectionable form. It began then to be said that there was a temporal punishment due for every sin, which men might *satisfy* for by remarkable afflictions, penances, etc., in this world, or by purgatory in the next (I am anticipating the full consideration of these questions); that the temporal punishment of some very good persons, when so very great, and their lives so very virtuous, that they bore an over-proportion to their few sins, were not without their effect as satisfaction, though not to the souls of the good persons, who they thought did not need them, but to those of greater sinners who did; that these meritorious satisfactions of the saints, multiplied as the saints were by legendary stories, were laid up as it were in a public bank or treasury of the Church, of which the Pope was the keeper and dispenser;

¹ De virginibus autem *praeceptum* Domini non habeo: *consilium* autem do.—Vulg. Trans.

that it was in his power to communicate the efficacy of these merits at his pleasure. Hence issued plenary pardons, indulgences, and the ill-gotten wealth of the Papacy, which was the immediate occasion of the Reformation.

The mere statement of such monstrous doctrine refutes it. Proofs against it are found (1.) in St. Matt. xxii. 36, 37, 2 Cor. vii. 1, which prove that every man is obliged to do his best, and are manifestly *praecepta*; (2.) in St. James iii. 2, Psalm xlix. 7, cxliii. 2, 1 St. John i. 8, St. Luke xvii. 10, which show that each man has enough to do for himself.

ARTICLE XV.

ARTICULUS XV.

De Christo, qui solus est sine
Peccato.

CHRISTUS, in nostrae naturae veritate, per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne, tum in spiritu. Venit ut agnus, absque macula, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam tolleret, et peccatum (ut inquit Iohannes) in eo non erat: sed nos reliqui, etiam baptizati, et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes. Et si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

ARTICLE XV.

Of Christ alone without
Sin.

CHRIST in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which He was clearly void, both in His flesh, and in His spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of Himself once made, should take away the sins of the world, and sin, as St. John saith, was not in Him. But all we the rest, although baptized, and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

THE differences between the several editions of this Article are merely verbal. The title in the earlier editions ran "Nemo praeter Christum est sine peccato," laying the more stress on the sinfulness of man; "once made" was better expressed before, "made ones for ever;" and the last clause began, "But the rest, yea, although we be baptized." These variations, not important in themselves, show that Bishop Jewel did occasionally vary from the text of 1562.

The Article divides itself into two parts: (1.) The perfect purity and sinlessness of Christ; (2.) The universal sinfulness of man, even of the baptized, or, in equivalent language, regenerate man.

The first part is in reality a corollary from Article II., and need not detain us long. I have often insisted upon the inestimable value of the doctrine of Christ's true humanity. The essence of His person and of His office consist in this, that He was very Man, as well as very God. The incarnation was a necessary condition to His redemption of mankind, and to His mediatorial office between God and man.

But His human nature had this peculiarity about it, that in His case alone of all born of women, His flesh and spirit were without sin. When the Son of God became man, He so became man as still to remain God and the Son of God. He did not lay aside His Divine nature to assume the human; but He took the human nature into the Divine, not as that human nature was corrupted by sin, but as it was first created by God. As in the truth of his Divine nature He was begotten of one substance like unto the Father, His personal properties excepted, so in the truth of the human nature He was made like unto us in all things, in our substance, our sinful infirmities alone excepted. The true origin of this distinction lies in the mystery of the supernatural conception of Christ.

But it may be said, To what purpose is this proposition? Who doubts it besides those already considered in Article II.? The fact is, it seems to be introduced by way of marking the contrast between Christ and ordinary men, as a preface rather to the second proposition, which the errors of the Pelagians have rendered it necessary to state. Not but that there have been some heretics against whom this truth of the sinlessness and impeccability of Christ is necessary to be maintained.

For instance, the modern Socinians look upon our Saviour as peccable, *i.e.* liable to sin, though in fact actually free from it. This, if maintained, is an error fatal to all Christian truth, and destructive of the principal verities of the Redemption, and therefore the compilers of the Articles have wisely noticed it; and their reason for introducing it here is, because the other error with which it is contrasted, that which maintains the possible sinlessness of Christian men, is one of the Pelagian errors, which, as you will remember, it is the object of this portion of the Articles chiefly to guard against and refute. The line of proof suggested in the Article, independent of direct Scripture assertions, is an appeal to types, and to the real character of Christ's mission. The type is the lamb without blemish or spot (see St. John i. 29; 1 St. Pet. i. 19), which speaks for itself. The real purport of Christ's appearance was that He might be a sacrifice, a victim for (*ὑπὲρ*) the sins of all other men. But if He had been sinful, He would Himself have needed a sacrifice for His own sins. He could never have taken them away for us. "For such a High Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, as other high priests do, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the

people's."¹ And this brings us to the direct scriptural proofs.² These are 1 St. John iii. 5, quoted in the Article, "in Him is no sin;" 1 St. Pet. ii. 22; Isaiah liii. 4, 5, 9; 2 Cor. v. 21; Heb. iv. 15; St. John viii. 46, xiv. 30. The distinction of sin into that of the flesh and of the spirit is from 2 Cor. vii. 1.

We now come to the second proposition, which, as I have said, appears to be the main object of the Article; the remaining sinfulness even of regenerate man. This would appear to be a corollary from the third proposition of Article ix., which asserts that the infection of nature doth remain even in them that are regenerate, the infection having the nature of sin. The difference appears to be that Article ix. states the tendency (in itself the *sinful* tendency) to sin; whilst this asserts that men even in a state of grace do actually sin; the two subjects being related to one another as cause and effect.

But it may be said, Has any one in fact asserted the sinlessness even of regenerate men? We answer, Yes; the Pelagians in former days, who, when the orthodox exclaimed how sinful men are, extolled the freedom of man's will, and maintained that a man may be without sin, and keep God's commandments easily if he will. The grounds on which these tenets were founded may be learnt by consulting St. Augustine de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione, ad Marcellinum, B. 2. In more recent times the Mystics and the Antinomians have maintained the same view, on opposite grounds,—the Mystics on the ground that the union of their souls with God and Christ is so intimate that they have become free from sin; while the Antinomians claim this freedom from sin on the ground that all their sins are laid upon Christ. Dr. Hey says of the Mystics: "I have been told from respectable authority, that the Arminian Methodists, better known as the disciples of John Wesley, have a class, or rank, or small society, called the select band, the members of which are supposed to be in a state of perfection; they do not, indeed, join the word 'sinless' with perfection, they like best to say they are perfect in love. Baxter mentions some enthusiasts, who conceive a certain height of holiness, a state of sinless

¹ Heb. vii. 26, 27.

² It is to be observed how much of the very words of the Article is taken from Holy Scripture; for instance, "made like unto us in all things," from Heb. ii. 17, iv. 15; "lamb without blemish," from 1 St. Pet. i. 19, Heb. ix. 14; "sacrifice once made," from Heb. ix. 26; "offend in many things," from St. James iii. 2; and the final clause from 1 St. John i. 8.

perfection attainable in this life.”¹ The Familists,² followers of H. Niclas, or Nicholas, of Amsterdam, adopted this view.

Antinomians held that a true Christian may do things wrong in themselves, but that they cease to be wrong because he, a Christian, does them; that Christ having fulfilled the law for them, has taken away sin; that God seeth no sin in His people—the guilt falls upon Christ. Some Moravian Anabaptists omitted that petition in the Lord’s Prayer, “Forgive us our trespasses;” and it is curious that at the second Council of Milevis in Africa, A.D. 416, the third Canon noticed and condemned this same error about the Lord’s Prayer.³

But these are not the only errors contemplated in Article xv. The Romanists are also implicated more or less in errors which the Article opposes. For, first, by their doctrine of works of supererogation, condemned in Article xiv., they virtually assert that a man may be sinless, so sinless that he can transfer part of his merits, beyond what he wants himself, to the general stock of merits in the treasury of the Church. It has been said also, that in the eighteenth Canon of the sixth Session, the Council of Trent leant to the error of attributing the possibility of sinlessness to man in a state of grace, but I confess, although they sound like the assertions of the ancient Pelagians,³ I do not think the words need bear that meaning.⁴ But a much more serious and indisputable charge is to be brought against that so-called Council. They expressly declare at the end of the decree about Original Sin, that they except the Blessed Virgin Mary from the decree.⁵ Moreover, they renew a Constitution of Sixtus iv., enjoining the observation of the Feast of the Immaculate

¹ Hey *in loco*, vol. iii. p. 421.

² See Hardwick’s History of the Reformation, pp. 291-294.

³ The Canon in question is supposed by Richard to belong really to the Council of Carthage, in 418, where it forms the Eighth Canon.—Anal. Concil. i. 387. (J. R. K.) See also St. Aug. de Peccat. Mer. et Rem. ii. 6: “Repellamus ab auribus et mentibus nostris eos qui dicunt, accepto semel liberae voluntatis arbitrio, nec orare nos debere, ut Deus nos adiuvet, ne peccemus.”

⁴ See Jewel, vol. v. p. 235.

⁵ The words are, “Si quis dixerit, Dei praecepta homini etiam iustificato et sub gratia constituto esse ad observandum impossibilia: anathema sit.”—Sess. vi. Can. xviii. Jan. 13, 1547.

⁶ “Declarat tamen haec ipsa sancta synodus, non esse suae intentionis comprehendere in hoc decreto, ubi de peccato originali agitur, beatam et immaculatam Virginem Mariam, Dei genitricem, sed observandas esse constitutiones fel. rec. Sixti Papae iv., sub poenis in eis constitutionibus contentis, quas innovat.”—Sess. v. de Pecc. Orig. 5, Jun. 17, 1546. The Constitutions themselves are printed in the official editions at the end of the proceedings of the Council.

Conception of the Virgin Mary (the date of the Constitution being 1476), and enjoining a mass for that purpose. They also renew another Constitution of the same Pope, of the year 1483, in which he complains of some preachers of the different orders who impugn this doctrine, and denounces against them excommunication *ipso facto*. The Article then is levelled against this error of the Trent decree, and by implication against that new and uncatholic invention, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which must be kept quite distinct from the immaculate conception of Christ in the womb of the Blessed Virgin. This error is one of the most grievous committed by the Church of Rome, and is quite of a piece with their fearful ascription of merit, power, and glory to the Blessed Virgin, which they have permitted in their public services, and which even now they permit. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary was never heard of till the necessity arose for defending the impiety of worshipping the Virgin, not only indirectly but directly, and of associating her name with that of the Blessed Trinity.

It is against these errors, then, ancient and modern, that the second proposition of this Article is addressed: "All we the rest," *i.e.* the rest, who partake of human nature. We now proceed to the proofs.

In the Old Testament the chief are these:—

Psalm liii. 1, 2, 3 (quoted in Rom. iii. 10, 11): "As it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God;" 1 Kings viii. 46; Prov. xx. 9; Eccles. vii. 20. But it may be said that these texts belong to a state of things before Baptism and Regeneration were instituted. Taking, however, the New Testament, we find the same doctrine in St. James iii. 2: "In many things we offend all;" and 1 St. John i. 8, 10,—both of which passages are addressed to baptized Christians, and by holy apostles, who also more particularly declare themselves and each other to be in fault, as in 1 Tim. i. 15, Phil. iii. 12, Gal. ii. 11. The same is shown by the sharp contention between St. Paul and St. Barnabas (Acts xv. 39). We have therefore ample scriptural authority, even if we confine ourselves to these passages, for asserting that "all we the rest, although baptized, yet offend in many things."

Let me now say a word in proof that the Blessed Virgin Mary forms no exception to this general rule. This would be sufficiently proved, if we had only the general assertions of Holy Scripture and of Christian antiquity; those of Holy

Scripture already alleged, and those of the Fathers which we will cite presently. They would include the Blessed Virgin, unless specially excepted by name; but seeing that the Scriptures, remarkably silent about her life generally, say nothing whatever about such pre-eminence; seeing that there are passages directly militating against it, according to the old Fathers' own interpretation; that the Fathers expressly include her in the general rule; and that all that the Romish advocates bring in proof of her sinlessness is of late introduction, as well as the fable of her Immaculate Conception: seeing all this, it is impossible to doubt the truth of the second proposition without any exception. Irenæus (adv. Haer. i.) distinctly attributes to the Blessed Virgin some faultiness in the *intempestiva festinatio* with which she wished to drink the cup. Athanasius, in reference to the same, says (Orat. c. Arian. 4), ἐπέπληττε τῇ μητρὶ: and Chrysostom (in Matth. Hom. xlv.) says, ἐπετίμησεν ἀκαίρως αὐτοῦσιν. Now if He rebuked her, she must have done something which she ought not to have done. Nay, Chrysostom (in Johan. Hom. xxi.) accuses her of vain-glory in the same act: "For she wished to do an act pleasing to the bystanders, and to render herself λαμπροτέραν διὰ τοῦ παιδός;" and again, "She had not yet the right opinion about Him, but because she had borne Him in childbirth, she thought that, like ordinary mothers, she had a right to command Him, whereas she ought to honour and worship Him as her Lord." Again, a similar fault is laid to the charge of the Blessed Virgin by Chrysostom and Theophylact,¹ upon the occasion of her coming to call Him away when teaching the people. Now, I ask, is it conceivable, if she had been then recognised as free from sin, or if any notion of her immaculate conception had been then entertained, that these Fathers (and remember that one of them is Theophylact, in the eleventh century) would have ventured to write in these terms? Therefore we have express testimony to this point, over and above the general testimony of antiquity to the universal sinfulness of even regenerate man.

Returning to the main subject, it may be well to remark, that neither the Articles nor the Church at any time have maintained the abstract impossibility² of fulfilling by Divine grace God's law to the utmost, although it may be morally

¹ Chrysost. in Matth. Hom. xlv. Theophyl. in Matth. c. xii.

² See St. Augustine, de Peccatorum Meritis, ii. 7: "Alia quaestio est, utrum esse possit; alia, utrum sit:" for, says he, if we deny the possibility, we derogate at once from man's free will and from God's grace.

certain, *i.e.* in the highest degree probable, that, from the remains of original sin, even *in renatis*, no man could so purify himself as to be, whilst still on earth, free from all taint of imperfection. But what our Church, following the old Fathers and Holy Scripture itself, asserts, is the fact, substantiated by all testimony, including that of conscience, that no man, though indefinitely approximating to it, has ever attained that degree of sinless perfection: and the motive for asserting this fact is to exalt Christ and to lower man in his own conceit; to place him ever on his guard, and to make him aware how, if with Divine grace he is unable to shake off all sinfulness, without it he is absolutely powerless; and if this is not maintained, there is danger of the Pelagian heresy. On the other hand, let us remember that there is nothing in this Article to discourage us in the attainment of all possible perfection; in the resolution not to let sin reign in our mortal bodies to obey it in the lusts thereof.¹ We are to raise the standard as high as possible; we are to be perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect;² to purify ourselves, even as Christ is pure:³ to say indeed with St. Paul, "If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead, not as though I had already attained, or were already perfect;"⁴ to be aware that it is God alone who can cleanse us from secret faults; that strive as we will, and successful as we may be by grace in eradicating absolute wilful sins, we must be aware of many sins, negligences, and ignorances, which, so long as this mortal life endures, will cleave to our flesh and spirit.

Further passages from the Fathers are quoted by Bishop Jewel, in the defence of his Apology, Part II. c. 19, div. 1, and referred to by Harvey (*Eccl. Angl. Vind. Cath.* vol. ii. p. 253). It may be sufficient here to conclude with two from Irenæus and Tertullian, quoted by Archdeacon Welchman.

The former says, "If any man say that the flesh of our Lord differed from ours in this respect, because it committed no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth, but that we are sinners: he speaketh rightly."⁵ The latter, "There are some sins which every day we are liable to run into. For who is there that doth not happen to be angry without a cause, or to let the sun go down upon his wrath, or to strike his neighbour, or freely to rail against him, or to swear rashly, or to break the promises he made in covenants or bargains, or to tell a lie through bashfulness or necessity?"⁶

¹ Rom. vi. 12.⁴ Phil. iii. 11, 12.² St. Matt. v. 48.⁵ Irenæus v. 14.³ 1 John iii. 3.⁶ Tertull. de Pudic. c. 19.

ARTICLE XVI.

ARTICULUS XVI.

De Peccato post Baptismum.

NON omne peccatum mortale post Baptismum voluntarie perpetratum est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum, et irremissibile. Proinde lapsis a Baptismo in peccata locus poenitentiae non est negandus. Post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum possumus a gratia data recedere, atque peccare, denuoque per gratiam Dei resurgere, ac resipiscere: ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus, veniae locum denegant.

ARTICLE XVI.

Of Sin after Baptism.

NOT every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

THE title of this Article varies in the three editions. In 1552 it was "De peccato in Spiritum Sanctum," in 1562, "De Lapsis post baptismum," and in 1571 this was changed to "De Peccato post baptismum."

In the edition of 1552 there were two Articles relating to this subject,—the first exactly resembling ours, except that in the place of "veniae locum," "poenitentiae locum" was repeated; the second defining the sin against the Holy Ghost to be "cum quis Verborum Dei manifeste perceptam veritatem, ex malitia et obfirmatione animi, convitiis insecatur, et hostiliter insequitur." The term "locus poenitentiae," which is derived from the Vulgate translation of Heb. xii. 17, is, curiously enough, translated by three different expressions in the three editions: "the place for penitentes" in 1552, "the place for penitence" in 1562, "the grant of repentance" in 1571. The technical meaning of *locus poenitentiae*, from which is derived the translation of 1552, is probably that part of the ancient church which was assigned to the Poenitentes. Of these, in the ancient church

there were four orders or gradations. Notorious offenders were absolutely excluded, not only from the Holy Communion, but from the congregation in the church, nay, from the very walls of the church. When they had obtained permission to begin such a course of humiliation and discipline as might lead in due time to the restoration of spiritual privileges, they were admitted, under the name of *Flentes*, as far as the church porch. These were in fact candidates for the prescribed course of penitence. They lay prostrate in the porch, begging the prayers of the faithful as they went in. The next stage of probation was that of the *Audientes*—i.e. hearers of the Holy Scriptures and of the sermon before the common prayers began. In this stage they were confined to the Narthex, or lowest part of the church, for one or two years. The third gradation, advancing towards restoration, was of the Kneelers (*substrati*), who joined in certain prayers, and received at last imposition of hands within the nave, near the reading-desk, but were dismissed before the Holy Communion began. The fourth order was that of the *Consistentes*, who might be present during the Holy Communion, but did not receive it with the faithful.

Now this penitential discipline (of which a very exact account will be found in the 18th Book of Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*) has long since passed away, not only in the English branch of the Church, but also in the Greek and Roman branches. I mention it here to explain the meaning of the term *locus poenitentiae*; it means, literally, that part of the church assigned to penitents, and so it is practically equivalent to the term "possibility of forgiveness," or (as in 1571) "the grant of repentance."¹ Bishop Jewel probably adopted this expression as more likely to be generally understood; the proper meaning of the term, as well as this practice of the Church, having become obsolete.

Now the Article naturally divides itself into two principal parts, each containing a proposition and an inference from that proposition.

I. Before we proceed to the first proposition, we must explain the term "deadly," or "mortal." Properly speaking, every wilful sin is in itself deadly, for "the wages of sin is death,"² and would continue so but for Christ's merits. It

¹ The most exact equivalent in the present day would be "absolution is not to be denied;" yet in point of fact the words "grant of repentance" is sufficiently near in practice, inasmuch as there is always supposed in every legitimate Church a relation between absolution in its ecclesiastical sense, and remission of sins in heaven.

² Rom. vi. 23.

would appear highly dangerous for man to define strictly and specially what sins are mortal, and what are venial. Attempts have been made by the School doctors, following Thomas Aquinas, to draw these distinctions; but these are after all mere human speculations. Yet it is natural to think that there is some distinction, though we cannot draw the line. Nay, the Holy Scriptures themselves to some extent recognise this: "He that delivered thee unto me hath the *greater* sin;"¹ and again, some are beaten with few stripes, others with many stripes;² and again, a distinction is drawn between a sin unto death and a sin not unto death.³ And so our Litany prays that we may be delivered from "fornication and all other deadly sin," and also draws a distinction between "sins, negligences, and ignorances," all which we pray equally may be forgiven, though it is evident that, comparatively, negligences and ignorances cannot be put upon the same footing as willing sins. Accordingly, without going further into these speculations, we may say that the meaning of the Article is to assert that there are sins, even of the most grievous kind, which appear to be deadly, and yet are not on that account unpardonable, like the sin against the Holy Ghost. Of course what is added, "willingly," is one very important element in the comparative heinousness of sins.

The first part contains, as its proposition, or virtually two propositions—

(a.) Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost.

(b.) Not every deadly sin so committed is unpardonable. Syllogistically these may be connected thus:—

The sin against the Holy Ghost alone is as such unpardonable in earth and in heaven.

Deadly sins in general are not this sin against the Holy Ghost.

Therefore, deadly sins in general are not, as such, unpardonable in earth and in heaven.

The inference is, "Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism," which is practically the conclusion of this syllogism:—

The sins which are not unpardonable in earth and heaven ought not to have denied them *locus poenitentiae*, i.e. absolution.

Sins in general, even deadly sins, are not unpardonable in earth and heaven.

¹ St. John xix. 11.

² St. Luke xii. 47.

³ 1 St. John v. 16.

Therefore sins in general ought not to have absolution denied them.

The bearing of the observations which I made about *locus poenitentiae* will now be clear. The first clause of this proposition asserts that deadly sins, with one exception, are capable, upon certain terms, of forgiveness in earth and heaven; the second infers that therefore they should, upon certain terms, be capable of absolution by the Church. And the substance of its meaning is, "the efficacy of repentance both for readmission into the Church on earth and for ultimate forgiveness in heaven."

Let me anticipate what more properly belongs to the second proposition, and say that that proposition supplies what this wants; that is, the terms upon which deadly sins are pardonable, and may be absolved, viz.—the condition that by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives, or (as in the last words) the condition that we truly repent.

Thus far we have only stated the first proposition; it must now be proved, and of course the proof must turn on the meaning of those difficult words in St. Matthew xii. 31, 32; St. Mark iii. 28, 29; St. Luke xii. 10; 1 St. John v. 16; Heb. vi. 4-6, and x. 26.

You will observe that St. Matthew, though the occasion was the same, *i.e.* the attributing Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, yet does not assign the reason; whereas St. Mark adds, "because they said, He hath an unclean spirit." St. Luke represents the words as uttered amidst other discourses; but upon the same occasion, though the verse from which we gather this is at a considerable distance in the preceding chapter (xi. 15). St. John does not record the saying in his Gospel, but evidently alludes to it in 1 St. John v. 16.

Now, without going at length into these texts, it seems generally admitted at present that "the sin against the Holy Ghost" is a specific sin, in particular reference to their blasphemy who attributed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub. Of course it may be extended by analogy to similar blasphemy in the present day. It seems hardly possible that texts so clearly limited to one specific sin could ever have been perverted to prove the unpardonableness of all sin after baptism. The process of the error was probably this:—Every one at baptism receives the Holy Ghost; if he sins he resists Him, and therefore commits a sin against Him; but the fallacy consists in confounding *a* sin with *the* sin. If all sins willingly committed after Baptism were unpardonable, then as Baptism actually takes away former sins, it

would be thought better (as among others, the Emperor Constantine supposed), and shocking as the thought would be, and contrary to the very first notion of a Church on earth, it would be natural to defer Baptism till the moment before death; but if all Scriptures and all Christian antiquity are against so utterly shocking a postponement of Baptism, it is conclusively proved, by the *reductio ad absurdum*, that sins after Baptism are upon certain terms pardonable.

In the very same passages which condemn sin against the Holy Ghost it is said that "all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men;" "all sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies" (the highest sin) "wherewith soever they shall blaspheme." And these texts, which have been always so interpreted by the Church, and are so accordant with the whole tenour of the Gospel (especially St. Luke xv. 7, 2 St. Pet. iii. 9), prove that the distinction is well founded between all other deadly sin, and the sin against the Holy Ghost; and therefore between the pardonableness of the one and the unpardonableness of the other.

St. Paul's view on this subject of sinners being re-admitted to Church privileges may be gathered from Gal. vi. 1, and 2 Tim. ii. 25.¹

And now, to show that we are not fighting against shadows, it is necessary to give you some account of the heresy of Novatus and Novatian (to which these orthodox views are opposed), which heresy was in fact revived about the time of the Reformation by the Anabaptists, so that it became necessary to oppose them.

Novatian was a priest of the Church of Rome, a clinic, and therefore objected to at first, till the objection was overruled by the bishop, as *ipso facto* unfit for ordination. He was an unsuccessful competitor against Cornelius for the bishopric of Rome in 251 A.D., and his first step in heresy was taken from his hatred of Cornelius, whom he accused, *inter alia*, of admitting to communion certain *Lapsi*, i.e. persons who during the Decian persecution had lapsed into idolatry; maintaining it as a fundamental maxim, that those who had so fallen were utterly incapable of being admitted into the Church again; thus denying the *locum poenitentiae*. He had many adherents, especially among those who had been confessors whilst their brethren had lapsed. He next procured his consecration as bishop in a most scandalous manner. He was condemned by a council of sixty bishops,

¹ See Augustine, Serm. lxxi. c. iv. 7.

which seems to have irritated him still further; and he soon extended his denial of the *locus poenitentiae* from the sin of *Lapsi* to all grievous and wilful sin after Baptism. The heresy was continued in a schismatical succession of Bishops. From this source sprang the Novatians, otherwise called *καθαρῶν*. He wrote a book, *de Trinitate*, which is orthodox. His error, in fact, amounts to a denial of "the forgiveness of sins" asserted in the Creed, and, if carried to its legitimate consequences, could only end in the indefinite delay of Baptism, *i.e.* to an exaggerated form of the error of the Anabaptists in opposing Infant Baptism. The individuals thus postponing it *ex professo* spent the greater part of their lives, not as Christians, not as members of Christ, or children of God, or inheritors of the kingdom of heaven,—without the Holy Communion, or, in strictness of speech, any other of the means of grace.¹

The second part contains also a proposition consisting of two parts and an inference.

(a.) "A Christian may fall from grace after Baptism," the doctrine impugned being that of indefeasible perseverance as predicable of any given individual still alive.

(b.) "A Christian having so fallen, may arise again and amend his life,"—the doctrine impugned being that of absolute reprobation of any given individual still alive.

The inference is, the condemnation of the doctrines of the possibility

(a.) Of absolute sinlessness, and, consequently, of absolute assurance as to his own salvation, on the part of any individual, so long as he lives here.

(b.) Of concluding that the state of any other person is absolutely hopeless, or, in other words, the doctrine of despair.

I here purposely abstain from an accurate inquiry into the doctrine of Perseverance, Reprobation, Assurance, as I shall from the closely connected doctrines of Election and Predestination in the next Article; partly because they are not suited to your age or the state of your preparation; partly because to treat them thoroughly would exhaust our whole time, and to treat them slightly could lead to error only, and not to satisfaction. In fact, the controversy, in general, is strife about words; men differing because their definitions of these mysterious words are different. I content myself with proving the plain words of the Article, without entering into the subjects connected with them;

¹ On this whole subject see St. Pacian, Epist. 3, in Eccl. Angl. Vind. Cathol. ii. 297.

on which, however, I have very decided opinions as to the tenets of our Church.

The liability even of advanced Christians to fall may be seen from the instance of St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 27, and generally from 1 Cor. viii. 11; from the hypothetical form in Heb. iii. 6, and vi. 6; and also from Heb. iii. 12, x. 39. Lastly, Christians are warned against quenching the Spirit, 1 Thess. v. 19; against grieving Him, Eph. iv. 30; or doing despite to Him, Heb. x. 29.

The second part of this proposition seems to follow from Rev. ii. 5, which might serve also as a text for the first part of it, showing that whole Churches may fall away, and whole Churches may arise and amend their lives.

Other passages among many are St. Luke xv. 32, the sonship marking the prodigal as a "child of God;" Gal. vi. 1; 2 St. Pet. iii. 9, "Long-suffering to us-ward," *i.e.* to Christians; 1 St. John i. 9, "If *we* confess our sins," etc.

The direct proof is sufficient, and whatever other single texts may seem to convey, they must be interpreted so as not to interfere with the doctrine thus firmly established of the efficacy of repentance. The chief difficulty is in Heb. vi. 4-6; but most of the difficulty will disappear if we remember that the apostle is speaking, not of falling into sin, either in particular instances or in the general tenour of our lives, but of a wilful and willing apostasy from the most fundamental Christianity, that is of apostasy—a sin grievous and most perilous always, but especially so in those times. A man who renounced his very baptism, and relapsed into Judaism or heathenism, placed himself wilfully in a state of extreme danger: it was most unlikely that he could even so much as attempt a recovery; the same motives which led to his fall, even in a state of grace, would continue to operate against his wishing to be restored, now that he has fallen from grace; so that, naturally and spiritually, he was in a state of extreme danger; and as the iteration of Baptism was impossible, it might be deemed impossible—that is, there were no means, in the ordinary sense, for the renewal of such apostates to repentance, considering that their conduct is equivalent to crucifying the Son of Man afresh.

A similar argument may be used with respect to Heb. x. 26, where the apostle returns to the same subject of apostasy. "Reprobate mind" (*εἰς ἀδόκιμον*¹ νοῦν), in Rom.

¹ *Ἀδόκιμος* is similarly used 1 Cor. ix. 27, 2 Cor. xiii. 5, 6, 7, 2 Tim. iii. 8, Tit. i. 16, Heb. vi. 8.

i. 28, speaks, not of sinners in general, but of sinners who did not *like* to retain God in their knowledge; it speaks of them historically, as it were; not as what would be, or can be abstractedly the case with grievous sinners among Christians, but what was actually their case as hardened sinners and heathen; and we may observe that our Article has so worded the first proposition, that she admits that there may be some sins which are virtually unpardonable, such as apostasy, or hatred of God. They were not willing to retain God in their knowledge. On the whole, then, we may conclude that "we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives."

The first inference from this proposition follows from what has been already proved. In the Fifteenth Article it was seen that no Christian can say at any time that he is sinless; in the Sixteenth, that no Christian can say that he is incapable of falling into grievous sins. Put these two truths together, with Heb. xii. 14, that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord," and the inference follows, of course. We may add the following passages: Rom. xi. 20, 21; 1 Cor. x. 12; Phil. ii. 12; Heb. iv. 1; 1 St. John i. 10.

The second inference is the same as that which follows from the first proposition, though in a different form, and more carefully guarding the indispensable condition of all true repentance, in the words, "*vere resipiscentibus*."

ARTICLE XVII.

ARTICULUS XVII.

De Prædestinatione et Electione.

PRAEDESTINATIO ad vitam est aeternum Dei propositum, quo ante iacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit, eos quos in Christo elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque (ut vasa in honorem effecta) per Christum, ad aeternam salutem adducere. Unde qui tam praeclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi Spiritu eius, opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum eius vocantur, vocationi per gratiam parent, iustificantur gratis, adoptantur in filios Dei, unigeniti eius Iesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes, in bonis operibus sancte ambulant, et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

Quemadmodum praedestinationis et electionis nostrae in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est, vere piis, et iis qui sentiunt in se vim Spiritus Christi, facta carnis, et membra, quae adhuc sunt super terram, mortificantem, animumque ad coelestia et superna rapientem; tum quia fidem nostram de aeterna salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilis, atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit; ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari praedestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est praecipitium, unde illos diabolus protrudit, vel in desperationem, vel in aequae perniciosam impurissimae vitae

ARTICLE XVII.

Of Predestination and Election.

PREDESTINATION to Life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) He hath constantly decreed by His counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by His Spirit working in due season: they through Grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of His only begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desper-

securitatem. Deinde promissiones divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositae sunt, et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in verbo Dei habemus discrete revelatam.

tion, or into wretchedness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture: and, in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

THIS Article is substantially the same in all the three editions. Minor differences are the addition, in 1562, of *in Christo*, in the clause “quos in Christo elegit;” of *Dei*, in 1571, to the clause “adoptantur in filios Dei;” and the omission in the last paragraph after “Deinde,” of the clause “licet praedestinationis decreta sunt nobis ignota, tamen,” which occurs only in the edition of 1552. In the English version we have “whereby the devil *doth* thrust” in the place of “*maie* thrust,” in 1552.

The full explanation of this Article is unadvisable in this series of Lectures: not because it is not capable of full proof, nor because its language is not most moderate and cautious, but because you are hardly sufficiently ripe for it.

I will only just say that the Article dwells upon predestination to life, but though it names “the sentence of God’s predestination,” yet it does not name predestination to death, or what is commonly called reprobation, which is a doctrine leading to despair and a reckless life, and to the most shocking impieties against God’s goodness in Christ. The same reticence is found in the Homilies and in the devotional services of the Church; and in this respect also all our great divines, such as Bull and Pearson, have imitated her moderation.¹ The Article further speaks of predestination to life, not as known to the individual, but only to God, in “His counsel secret to us,” so that practically each individual, though comforted by God’s promises, cannot venture to decide positively on his own case; his only criterion whether he is within reach of those general promises being his approach to a good, Christian, holy life. Of course the general truth of Predestination depends upon God’s foreknowledge.

I will only further give you the passages from which the several statements in the Article are derived.

¹ Pearson (Opuscula, i. 243-5) has shown that ἀδόκιμος (“reprobate”) is not in Holy Scripture opposed to “the elect.” Nor is the word, in its scholastic and controversial sense, used in Holy Scripture at all, or in the Fathers; and our Church has observed the same moderation. This gets rid of the main difficulty of the question.

The introductory descriptive part, in its several expressions, may be traced to Gal. iii. 13, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse;" 1 St. Pet. i. 2, "Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father;" Eph. i. 4-7; 2 Tim. i. 9; Rom. viii. 29, ix. 11, "That the purpose of God according to election might stand;" Rom. ix. 15, 23, 24; and 1 Thess. v. 9.

The later expressions may be individually confirmed as follows:—

(1.) "Spiritu . . . vocantur," by Rom. viii. 28-30; Gal. i. 15; 1 Thess. ii. 12; Rev. xvii. 14.

(2.) "Vocationi parent," by St. John x. 27; Acts xiii. 48; 1 Thess. i. 4, 5.

(3.) "Justificantur gratis," by Rom. iii. 24, v. 1, 9, 16, viii. 30; 1 Cor. vi. 11.

(4.) "Adoptantur in filium Dei," by Rom. viii. 15, 16; Gal. iv. 4, 5; Eph. i. 5; Hos. i. 10.

(5.) "Unigeniti eius Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes," by Rom. viii. 29; 2 Cor. iii. 18; 1 St. John iii. 2.

(6.) "In bonis operibus ambulant," by Eph. ii. 10; 1 St. Pet. i. 2; 2 Thess. ii. 13; Rev. xvii. 14.

(7.) "Pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem," by St. Matt. xxv. 34; Rom. viii. 30; Eph. i. 9-11; 1 St. Pet. i. 4, 5.

(8.) "Consideratio prædestinationis nostræ, (a.) fidem confirmat," by Acts xiii. 48; Rom. viii. 33, 38, 39: (b.) "amorem accendit," by 1 St. John iv. 19.

(9.) The caution "for curious and carnal persons," by 2 Tim. ii. 24-26.

(10.) The general promises of God in Holy Scripture, by St. Matt. xi. 28; St. John iii. 16; 1 Tim. ii. 4.

(11.) The necessity of following in our actions "that Will of God which we have expressly declared to us in the Word of God," by St. Luke x. 25, etc.

ARTICLE XVIII.

ARTICULUS XVIII.

De speranda aeterna Salute
tantum in Nomine Christi.

SUNT et illi Anathematizandi, qui dicere audent unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modo iuxta illam, et lumen naturae accurate vixerit, cum sacrae literae tantum Iesu Christi nomen praedicent, in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Of obtaining eternal Salvation
only by the Name of Christ.

THEY also are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of Nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

THE only difference in the three editions of this Article is in the title, which before 1571 ran in the form of a proposition: "Tantum in nomine Christi speranda est aeterna salus." In some copies, too, of the edition of 1562, the first "*et*" is omitted.

In the English versions of 1552 and 1562 "*anathematizandi sunt*" was rendered, "are to be had accursed and abhorred," whereas in 1571 the latter verb was omitted.

This Article, which is connected with Article XIII., need not detain us long. It is directed mainly against what may be called indifferentism; *i.e.* that error which considers it a matter of indifference what a man believes, provided that he acts according to what is called his conscience: in fact, that all religions are equally right and equally safe,—an error which has prevailed at all times, and never more than now, and which is embodied in the lines by Pope:—

"For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right."¹

Burnet seems to think that it is partly directed against a theory prevalent amongst the heathen writers who opposed

¹ Pope's Essay on Man, Epist. iii. l. 305.

Christianity, to the effect that God was honoured by diversity of worship ; or against a passage in the Koran (given by Hey)¹ : " Let it be generally known, that any one who lives rightly, whether Jew or Christian, or one who leaves his own religion for another, every one who worships God and does good, shall undoubtedly obtain God's love." But this is very questionable : the word " sect " is generally limited to Christian bodies, and the fact is, that liberalism, by which I mean a spurious liberality, is found at most periods more or less influential ; and it is sometimes hard to discover where a just Christian toleration ends, and where indifferentism begins. The heretics specially intended are probably the Socinians, who hold that God's favour is to be obtained in all situations equally by good moral conduct.

There is some doubt whether this Article XVIII. belongs to the third or fourth parts of the Articles as usually divided. The truth opposed to the error is doubtless in fact, that salvation is to be hoped for through Jesus Christ in the true Church, whatever that Church may be. The best way is probably to regard the Article as transitional between the two parts.

" That presume to say that every man shall be saved." This is so worded, that it is quite consistent with the assertion of this proposition to hope that a virtuous heathen, who never had an opportunity of embracing the Gospel, is capable of salvation. The case of Cornelius seems to justify this hope, which is confirmed by Romans ii. 14 : " For when the Gentiles, who have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves : " but it is a very different thing to say, that a man *may* be saved, and to say that every man *shall* be saved ; to say that a man may be saved in some way by God's uncovenanted mercy, and to say that the covenant is a matter of indifference. There is a distinction to be drawn between a man being saved *in* a law or sect, and *by* a law or sect. The Latin, it is true, has *in lege*, but the English is equally authoritative ; and it is remarkable that in Acts iv. 12, *ἐν ᾧ*, translated in the Latin Article *in quo*, is rendered in the English *whereby*. The meaning is obviously admissible, that a man *may* be saved in an imperfect religion by God's mercy and Christ's merits, though not in virtue of his being a faithful member of that sect.

The proposition, then, which is implied in this Article is, that the Scriptures do not allow any man to consider it as an

¹ See Hey's Lectures, iv. 56.

indifferent matter whether he acts upon Christian principles, and as a member of the true Church of Christ, or not.

The Article itself indicates the proof, pointing to Acts iv. 12: "Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." With it we may compare our Lord's own declaration in St. John xiv. 6: "No man cometh unto the Father but by me." And to these explicit statements must be added all the texts about the vine, St. John xv. 4: "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine,"—all the passages which represent us as branches, as Christ's flock (1 St. Pet. v. 2, 3), as the edifice whereof Jesus Christ Himself is the chief corner-stone (Eph. ii. 20),—all imply an obligation to act socially as Christians, and the *necessity of so doing* to attain salvation.

ARTICLE XIX.

ARTICULUS XIX.

De Ecclesia.

ECCLESIA Christi visibilis est coetus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum praedicatur, et Sacramenta, quoad ea quae necessario exiguntur, iuxta Christi institutum recte administrantur. Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, et Antiochena; ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda, et ceremoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quae credenda sunt.

ARTICLE XIX.

Of the Church.

THE visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

THERE is no difference between the various editions of this Article, which stands 20th in the edition of 1552, which contains as its 19th Article one practically equivalent to the latter part of Article VII. You will remember that in that part of my Lecture on the Ninth Article, which treated of such portions of the Apostles' Creed as were not already implied in the earlier Articles, I took some pains to explain that clause of the Creed, "the Holy Catholic Church." Properly speaking, all that was said then might be repeated here; I can, however, only just recapitulate the heads. I showed then that the Church was divisible into three heads:—1. Invisible; 2. Visible; 3. Mixed. 1. The souls of all just persons, redeemed by Christ, past, present, or to come, confined to the good and faithful. 2. That body of men, more or less faithful, living at any one and the same period upon earth in the outward profession of Christianity, with more or less of agreement with each other, but divided locally and externally into several communities and particular churches, called also the Church Militant. 3. The mixed Church is made up of the faithful servants who are gone to

their reward, who are safe for ever, and those faithful servants who are still fighting in this mortal life, and therefore still liable to defeat and even ultimate ruin.

I showed also that this visible Church is a body, consisting at any given time of clergy, old members, and newly admitted members of the Church, perpetually fluctuating from the nature of the elements of which it is composed, yet always (like a body corporate in the State) one and the same. Further, that all the Churches in Christendom originated from one common stock—*i.e.* from the congregation of 120 men with the Apostles, recorded in Acts i. 15: that the universal and indispensable method of derivation from that common stock was Holy Baptism, no unbaptized person being ever counted to belong to this Church, but those only who could show that they belonged by Baptism to the common succession of the Church. For instance, Crete, Antioch, Rome, could not have made themselves disciples by merely calling themselves the Church. Further, that this common succession of the Church was, over and above Holy Baptism, mainly perpetuated by a distinct order of men, according to a threefold division, descended from the Apostles in a perpetual succession, and deriving their authority from hand to hand in each generation from the Apostles and from Christ Himself; that a self-originated ministry was as utterly unknown for the first fifteen centuries as a self-originated Church; that for fifteen centuries the word Church implied *ex vi termini* the common origin by means of Baptism of the whole body, and the unbroken succession of its ministry by means of the Episcopal order; and that our Church had been singularly blessed, in contrast with the foreign Reformers, in preserving unbroken each of these necessities.

Now my reason for giving all this recapitulation is this: The definition of the Visible Church given here must be so interpreted as to be consistent with the acknowledged meaning of the term at the time of the Reformation. It must be held to include those notions of perpetual succession which the Creeds and the other formularies of the Church imply, and which we saw under the Eighth Article were actually entertained by our Reformers. It may be granted that the Article is so drawn up as to give as little offence as possible to foreign Reformers;¹ but it must be remembered that even

¹ See the Confession of Augsburg of 1540 (in *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 171), Article ix.: "Habet ecclesia proprie dicta signa sua, scilicet puram et sanam evangelii doctrinam, et rectum usum sacramentorum. Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii, et administratione sacramentorum."

the foreign Reformers had continued the succession of the whole Church, inasmuch as the first Protestant congregations were the same which had been Roman Catholic, and that new members were added by a baptism, which, whatever may be thought of its regularity, was at least valid. And as to the succession of ministers, those foreign Churches, acknowledging that for the time they had not the power of perpetuating the episcopal succession, yet did keep up a succession, though an imperfect one.¹ Those who recollect my former Lectures will not suppose that I am undervaluing the inestimable privilege of episcopal ordination; but it is better to accept our own privileges thankfully, than to speculate upon the consequences which the absence of such privileges may entail upon others. I wish now merely to show that the word "congregation" could not in the minds of our Reformers, or even of the Continental Reformers, imply anything like a self-constituted congregation, more particularly as one of the notes here added of the visible Church is the due administration of Baptism, which is the outward method by which the existing visible Church is perpetually recruited, so as to be connected with all that is gone before, and ultimately with the Apostles themselves.

The Article naturally divides itself into two parts: 1. the theory or definition of a particular visible Church; 2. the fact of particular Churches having erred as a matter of history, from which results as a corollary the fallibility of particular Churches.

1. This definition, though primarily it speaks of the whole visible Church, yet as the congregation of the whole visible Church is physically impossible, comes virtually to be the definition of a particular visible Church; and this view is confirmed by the second proposition, referring in fact to particular Churches.

"Coetus fidelium."—"A congregation of faithful men." The word *congregation* is often used in the earlier English translations of the Bible to denote the Church, where we now use the word Church. The term by no means implies the absence of hypocrites and bad men who are in the Church, but not of it,—like the tares, or the bad fish in the net. "The faithful" here means all baptized or professing Christians, this being the theological sense of *πιστοί*, or *ἄγιοι*, and *fideles*, as opposed to catechumens, from very

¹ See Confession of Augsburg, *De Potestate Ecclesiastica*, in Sylloge Confess., p. 232: "Nunc non id agitur, ut dominatio eripiat episcopis, sed hoc unum petitur, ut patiantur evangelium pure doceri, et relaxent paucas quasdam observationes, quae sine peccato servari non possunt."

early times. It would not exclude individual Roman Catholics.

And let us at the very outset understand that there is not the smallest intention in this Article to unchurch the Church of Rome. The very fact that the orders of that Church are deemed valid by us would prove this if there were any doubt; but the proof lies much nearer, inasmuch as in the last paragraph it is still called *the Church of Rome*.

At first sight the definition may appear to exclude her, and some ultra-Protestants, particularly the Puritans, have gone the length of saying that she is no Church at all. Not so our Reformers. Let us look at the words: "The pure Word of God." This, of course, is an epithet which involves the whole controversy about the Holy Scriptures; but the expression is a careful one, for it is not said "the pure Word of God *alone*," without the additions of the Apocrypha and legends which Rome has sanctioned; but if the pure Word is preached, there is one essential of a particular visible Church, and no one who has examined the subject can doubt that the Church of Rome does read and preach, though inadequately, the pure Word of God, though she often neutralizes it by additions to the canon; and that she holds in the main the vital doctrines of the Christian faith, though obscured and sometimes corrupted by novelties.

Again, as to Sacraments. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the only two here alluded to. Now it cannot be said with certainty of Rome that she does not in all things, and in respect of all persons, duly minister the Sacraments according to Christ's ordinance in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same. Of Baptism, though exception may be justly taken against some circumstantial details, yet no one has ever accused her of essential errors in administration. Of the Lord's Supper it must be granted that she has approached as nearly as can be to fatal error with respect even to the essentials of administration—witness her unscriptural and uncatholic denial of the cup to the laity; but still she has always celebrated the Lord's Supper rightly with respect to some few,—I mean with respect to the body of the clergy and to kings. Her sin, and a most grievous and perhaps fatal one it is for all concerned, has been to narrow the numbers of full communicants, not to abolish the use of the cup altogether. The other points of maladministration, though often objectionable in theory and superstitious in practice, do not regard the essence of the rite, but its circumstances, in which confessedly a particular

Church has, at her own peril, a right to vary from the practice of other and purer Churches, provided that nothing is decreed contrary to God's Word.

It must not be considered that what has been said about the Church is at all adequate to the subject. But the general result of the conclusions thus far is, that as the visible Church as to its individual parts is made up of wheat and tares, good fishes and bad, vessels of honour and vessels of dishonour, so one particular Church like Rome may be compared with other Churches, or with itself at different eras, more or less orthodoxical; and that though an approach to heterodoxy, as that of Rome, endangers a Church, yet it does not follow that every corruption of faith and practice destroys the essence of a Church. Rome is still a Church, though an erring and impure one; and in short, as I said, there is no intention in the Article to unchurch the Church of Rome. Without attempting to exhaust the subject, we must proceed to what is necessary to the right understanding of this Article. Now, on once more looking at the definition, we shall see that in another point, besides the absence of all mention of an Apostolical ministry, such as is, however, implied in the notes of a Church, the definition is itself in a logical point of view not sufficiently full in another respect, though of course the compilers could never have thought of purposely omitting anything essential; they took what appeared necessary to their purpose, without intending a perfect definition. I allude more particularly to the silence of the Article about common prayer; but that was probably considered partly as one of the essential accompaniments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, or rather it is implied in the first idea of a Church, and has never been doubted in any Church or by any body of men except the Quakers, who, never having been baptized, and denying the very notion of Baptism, are not Christians at all, and in fact are gross Socinians.

The first proposition may be proved from St. Matt. xxviii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23-25; Acts ii. 41, 42.

Proceeding with the Article we come now to the second proposition, which first implies that which Papists would deny,—that the Church of Rome is to be treated as a particular Church, and not as the Catholic Church, of which we shall be led to speak presently; and which secondly asserts not so much the possibility of certain particular Churches, in the sense just defined, falling into error, as the fact that certain particular Churches specified have actually erred; the fact that as certain ancient particular Churches, even

when nearer to the purity of the Apostles' times, fell away so that their being as particular Churches ceased—so that, in short, their candlesticks were removed; so also in later times the particular Church of Rome had fallen, if not into fatal errors—fatal, that is, in the sense of destroying the essence of a Church,—yet into dangerous errors, not only in life and worship, but also in matters of faith. Now I wish to call your attention to the moderation and good judgment which led our compilers to place the argument upon this footing of fact, rather than on the footing of speculation. The form in which the Romish advocates would put it is very cunningly devised for their own objects, and allows ample scope for the full expansion of their subtilty, their assumptions, and their sophistical reasoning. They argue from the infallibility of their Church, the impossibility that it can err, an abstract speculation. We meet that argument here (elsewhere we meet them on their own ground, and with full success if we proceed with patience), not by speculation but by fact. And surely if the fact is proved the antecedent speculation against the possibility of that fact is utterly worthless. To take instances in common life. If a man argues that such a building cannot fall, it is a sufficient answer to his assumption if the building does fall. If a man says, I cannot be deceived; prove by fact that he has been deceived, and his boasting is at an end—in the judgment not perhaps of himself, but of all impartial judges. If a man says, I cannot sin, I am impeccable, the moment he does sin the folly and falsehood of his assertion is palpable. And so, when a Church professes to be infallible and indefectible, if there is a single fact of failing or error, or inconsistency or contradiction, it is enough to destroy the presumptuous antecedent assumption. Now the great importance of this line of argument will be apparent, if we consider what is the use made by Rome of this assumed infallibility. It is in fact the *πρώτον ψεύδος* of their whole system; for if established, if it *could* be established *a priori*, then it would follow that all the doctrines of Rome are true, and the argument about details would be at once closed. Controversialists, therefore, on both sides, have seen the great importance of this subject, and therefore, though we must be short, we cannot altogether dismiss it without notice.

Before we follow the Article in this conclusive line of argument against Rome's pretended infallibility, we must consider (though very shortly and imperfectly, the subject properly belonging to Article XXXVII.), the grounds upon which that false claim is founded. Now the process of rea-

soning appears to be this. Our Saviour, it is confessed by all, did promise in the main indefectibility to His Church; that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, that He would be always with it, even to the end of the world. They begin by assuming that this Church is identical with, and co-extensive with, the Church of Rome; or, in other words, that Rome is not a particular branch of the Universal Church, but the Universal Church itself: and this fallacy lies at the root of the whole system. If, therefore, this could be proved, the indefectibility and infallibility of Rome, barring the facts of failing above alluded to, would follow as a necessary inference. The contest then turns *in limine* upon what is called the supremacy of Rome, or what in their estimation is equivalent to it, the supremacy of the Pope as Peter's successor. Their chief scriptural authority is St. Matt. xvi. 18, interpreted, not as it was always interpreted by the great body of the early Church, of the faith professed by St. Peter, but of St. Peter himself in person, and of his successors. Whatever ground there may be, moreover, in antiquity for understanding it of St. Peter himself, the whole of early history is against his successors. And even if St. Peter had been personally intended, it would by no means follow that his successors at Rome were included. But we dispute the fact even with respect to St. Peter himself. It is not said "upon Peter, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ Πέτρῳ, but ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, I will build my Church." And Bishop Jewel has shown by abundant evidence, that it was generally held by the Catholic Fathers that this Rock was "not any mortal man, as Peter was, but Christ Himself, the Son of God."¹ There are, in fact, no less than thirty-six old authorities for our view; though it must not be forgotten *per contra* that some Fathers do incline to interpret it of St. Peter. The scriptural ground, however, both grammatically and historically considered, fails utterly to prove that it was only the Church founded by St. Peter against which the gates of hell should not prevail.

Now we are not disputing that St. Peter was a very eminent apostle, that he has by some ancient writers been considered to have had a precedency in the College of Apostles, though there is much greater reason, even in Holy Scripture, for assigning that primacy to St. James. What St. Peter's own notion about ruling the Church would be may be seen from such expressions in 1 St. Pet. v. 1-4, as, "I exhort, who am also an elder;" "Feed the flock of God . . .

¹ See Jewel's Works, "Of the Supremacy," vol. ii. p. 133, etc.

not . . . as being lords over God's heritage;" "When the chief Shepherd shall appear."

But, granting his eminence, we dispute his having the smallest claim, even in his own person, to supremacy over the other Apostles; the ancient writers never considered such a claim possible. Take a passage from St. Cyprian, *de unitate Ecclesiae*, c. 3: "Idem erant utique caeteri Apostoli quid fuit Petrus, pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis." Again, St. Chrysostom says, even of St. Paul, who calls himself "an apostle born out of due season,"¹ that he was *μηδὲν Πέτρου δεόμενος, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότιμος ὧν αὐτῷ*.² And this being the case with St. Peter himself in relation to the other Apostles,—I mean that all were independent of each other,—the same is historically certain of the Churches which they respectively founded. For many years other Churches—Jerusalem, Alexandria, and subsequently Constantinople—were fully as eminent as Rome itself; and it was only when the State joined the Church after Constantine's conversion, that the weight of the imperial city as such gave a preponderance also to the Church; not that even then, or at any time since, has the Church of Rome become supreme, as other independent Churches have co-existed, and still co-exist, as may be seen in the case of the Greek Church.

One remarkable fact which is conclusive against this claim of universality, as a ground for supremacy and for infallibility, is furnished by the *Chronicon Eusebii*, or rather by its continuator, under the date 607: "Institutum fuit ut Romana ecclesia caput esset ecclesiarum omnium, cum prius Constantinopolitana id usurpare tentasset."³ This shows the lateness of the claim, a fact which is amply corroborated by St. Gregory's *Epistles*.⁴ All this shows that for the first six centuries no one ever thought of interpreting the passage in St. Matthew of the Church of Rome, or, with what is identical with that Church, with the Pope; and what is more, that the bare idea of any universal Church, derived from any single Apostle alone, or the bare idea of an universal Bishop, had never till that time been entertained; and that when it did arise, it arose not with respect to Rome, but to

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 8.

² Chrysost. in Ep. ad Gal. c. i.

³ The *Chronicle* of Eusebius ends with A.D. 447, but it was continued by Matthaeus Palmerius of Florence. These two works, with a further continuation by Matthias Palmerius from 1449 A.D., were printed together at Basle in 1536.

⁴ Greg. Ep. vi. 30: "Quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Anti-Christum praecurrit."

Constantinople. This is enough on that point, though far from all that might be said.

There is, therefore, no ground for thinking that Christ's promise was limited to St. Peter's Church, or that that Church was exclusively entitled to the designation of Catholic. It may safely be stated that such an idea finds no countenance in the early writers of the Church. Of course you will understand that I have not given more than a specimen of the arguments upon the text in St. Matthew xvi.

The scriptural ground thus failing them, it is worth while seeing what arguments they next resort to, and this will be found to consist mainly in the forged Decretals, which, up to the period preceding the Reformation, had passed current, but are now universally abandoned as spurious by critics of all persuasions, including the Romanists. The effect of this is to remove the main testimonies on which Roman controversialists formerly relied.

They also allege the authority of St. Cyprian,¹ but the passages prove nothing of the kind, and there are other passages directly opposed, in which St. Cyprian, as Bishop of Carthage, assumes titles of equality with that of the Bishop of Rome, rebukes the Pope, and asserts the independence of the African Church. The like may be said of a passage in Irenæus (ii. 180), also of an addition to the Canons of the Council of Nice, which can be proved to have been forged at Rome, as the authentic copies did not contain the clause.²

The result of the whole inquiry would be, if pressed in detail, that there is no evidence, but everything against it, for the first six centuries, of any supremacy in the Church or Pope of Rome; that at the end of that time St. Gregory distinctly disclaimed it; that the Churches, even of Europe, were for centuries independent of Rome, *de facto* and *de jure*; that the usurpation was gradual, and never complete; that the Greek Church, fully as numerous, was never otherwise than independent, and is so still; and that the Church of Rome is not the Catholic Church, but a particular branch like that of Jerusalem, etc., and therefore that there is no ground for assuming that, as such Universal Church, it was alone contemplated by our Lord in St. Matt. xvi., or for excepting it as a particular Church from the same fallibility and defectibility which have actually befallen other particular

¹ See Jewel on the Supremacy, vol. ii. p. 146.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 164. In this treatise all the passages that have been alleged are answered.

Churches. And therefore a general throng being got rid of, the way is now clear for that conclusive argument which the Article indicates as to the fact.

Let me, however, first state that this infallibility is a matter of uncertainty even amongst Romish writers,¹ who are not agreed where it resides. Some think that this infallible judge of matters of faith is the Pope for the time being;² some the Council called by the Pope; some the Pope and Council jointly.

We have now proved, then, that the Roman Church is not the Catholic Church, but only a branch of it,—in other words, a particular Church; and we have now to show that as a particular Church it has erred, “not only in living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.” First, observe that the best way of showing that Rome hath erred is to contrast it with the ancient character of the Church of Rome, as set forth in the first chapter of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans. Again, so late as the time of St. Jerome the character of the Church of Rome was unimpaired. He tells us that “*Romanae plebis laudatur fides. Ubi alibi tanto studio et frequentia ad Ecclesias et Martyrum sepulera concurritur? ubi sic ad similitudinem coelestis tonitruī ‘Amen’ reboat et vacua idolorum templa quatiuntur? Non quod aliam habeant Romani fidem, nisi hanc quam Christi ecclesiae.*”³

The full induction will be derived from the following Articles, which prove the proposition in detail. I will not anticipate these details, but allude to them now only to remind you that when they are proved you must recur to this Article, and you will then be in a full condition to acquiesce in its truth.

Now, taking whichever may be thought to be the place in which the alleged infallibility resides, whether Pope or Council, we may say generally that proof can be offered for the last proposition. If we take Councils, it may be difficult to show of such bodies of men called for a special purpose, that they have erred in living or manner of ceremonies, but it will be sufficient to show that the persons generally of

¹ In a very remarkable passage in a very remarkable work, Seymour’s Mornings amongst the Jesuits, Mr. Seymour shows that the Church of Rome, as a Church, has never made this claim. (The recent decision of the Vatican Council, establishing as a dogma the Pope’s infallibility, has in no way altered the truth of the statement in the text.—J. R. K.)

² Many Romish writers have positively denied it of the Pope. See Jewel, *Def. of Apology*, vol. vi. p. 253.

³ Hieron. *Comm. in Galat.*, Proem. ad Cap. iii.

whom they were composed were deeply sunk in moral corruption. The forced celibacy of the clergy had produced its natural fruits; there was no profligacy, however monstrous, which did not find place amongst the highest dignitaries of the Church, Cardinals and Popes included. Such profligacy was always palliated, sometimes excused, by their authorized writers. As early as St. Bernard's days, in the eleventh century, an universal corruption seems to have invaded the clergy; he often makes bitter complaints of this, although he was a devoted adherent of the See of Rome. I might quote many passages, but I will content myself with one: "*Amici tui, Deus, et proximi adversum te appropinquaverunt et steterunt. Coniurasse videtur contra te universitas populi Christiani a minimo usque ad maximum: a planta pedis usque ad verticem non est sanitas ulla; egressa est iniquitas a senioribus iudicibus, vicariis tuis qui videntur regere populum tuum. Non est iam discere, ut populus, sic sacerdos, quia nec sic populus ut sacerdos.*"¹

As to matters of faith, the Thirty-nine Articles are in many places a standing protest against the errors sanctioned both by Lateran Councils and by that of Trent.

But if they place the infallibility in the Popes, we have, *first*, the fact that Popes have been found who were monsters in life, not only countenancing unjust and wicked wars, but guilty of murders and impurity in their private life; *secondly*, that some have been manifest heretics: Eleutherius, in 177, having partaken of the heresy of Montanus, who pretended to be the Paraclete; Liberius, in 352-366, having been an Arian; and Zosimus, in 417, a Pelagian;² and, *thirdly*, we have the fact of the existence of Antipopes, sometimes two or three at a time. Thus in 1414 there was Boniface IX. at Rome and Benedict XIII. at Avignon.

A further point is the corruption of the ancient liturgies, in order unduly to exalt the saints, and especially the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Let Rome then take her choice. Wherever infallibility or impeccability in the abstract be placed, whether in the Popes or in the Councils, or in both together, it is equally negatived by facts; and in either case it is the Church of Rome which is officially responsible for errors both in manner of living and in matters of faith.

¹ Bern. Serm. in Conversione Pauli, tom. i. 962.

² See Jewel, vi. 253.

ARTICLE XX.

ARTICULUS XX.

De Ecclesiae Auctoritate.

HABET *Ecclesia Ritus sive Ceremonias statuendi ius, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem; quamvis Ecclesiae non licet quicquam instituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, nec unum scripturae locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinatorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita praeter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.*

ARTICLE XX.

Of the Authority of the Church.

THE Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness, and a keeper of holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.

THE first thing to notice in this Article is the history of the first clause, which was only added in 1562, and then only in the Latin version; whereas in 1571 it is found only in the English version. It has occasioned much controversy, which lasted some years, and gave rise to one of the charges against Archbishop Laud in the following century.¹ I shall not enter into the details; the outline of the history is this:—In a certain MS. still extant among the papers bequeathed by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—a MS. which is the identical and authentic one which received the subscription of the two Houses of Convocation in 1562,—the first clause does not appear. It is, I believe, now generally thought that this MS., though authenticated by the signatures of Convocation, and otherwise valuable as showing the corrections and erasures which took place during its passage through the Houses, is of no real legal authority, there being no token of its having been

¹ Laud was accused of forging it, but he refuted this by referring to MS. copies extant in his time.—See Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, p. 131.

ratified by the Crown, without which the decrees of a Convocation cannot become generally binding upon the Church of England. The book which is of full synodical authority is the edition of the Articles printed in Latin by R. Wolfe in 1563, "by the Queen's command," and declaring her royal approach. This book varies from the ms. of Archbishop Parker in two important particulars: 1. the addition of the clause in question; 2. the omission of the Twenty-ninth Article: "Of the wicked, which eat not the Body of Christ." From the date of that edition almost all the editions have the clause, including that of 1628, with the Declaration of Charles I.; the exceptions being one in English in 1563, and one in English and one in Latin in 1571. It is observable that whatever irregularity there may have been in the interval is cured by the revision of 1571 under Bishop Jewel, and by the renewed subscription on the part of the Convocation, even though the clause is then absent from the Latin version. The matter is now more a literary than a theological question; but whoever desires to look more accurately into the matter may consult Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles, or Cardwell's *Synodalia*, vol. i. p. 41.

We turn now from the history of the clause to some account of the circumstances which gave rise to the Article itself. It was the natural tendency of man, just emancipated from the tyranny of a system partially corrupted like that of Rome, to rush into the opposite extreme. The Roman system, even when it was not absolutely vicious, had brought the Church into a state respecting ceremonies or observances which seemed much more to resemble the cumbersome system of Jewish ordinances than the simple majesty of the Gospel. The Puritans, who were the natural offspring of this state of things, went as usual to the opposite extreme, and thought everything in the ritual, ceremonies, and habits of the Church of Rome abominable, as being idolatrous, or superstitious, or injurious to the liberty of the Gospel. The natural tendencies of these men, added to their notions of what the Scripture said about Gospel liberty, was further strengthened by the influences and associations derived from a long residence abroad in foreign Protestant countries, particularly Frankfort and Zürich. Indeed, the controversies and practical schisms which in the next century led to the subversion of the Church and kingdom, were already in full force in the English congregations abroad, and some were affected by these from whom we should have least expected it—such men as Jewel and Bishop Hooper,—in matters apparently so indifferent as the habits of the clergy, whether

their ordinary dress, or their academical dress, or that in which they performed their clerical functions.

The heads of the Church of England then had no easy task to perform in retaining what, though not absolutely essential to decent worship, was sanctioned by early usage, or by its natural fitness, and in rejecting whatever was superstitious or redundant; in short, in so casting off whatever obscured or deformed the face of the Church, as not to cut off all the associations of decent Christian worship, all those secondary helps to order, decency, and even modest splendour, which from the earliest times have been considered conducive to the honour of God and the edifying of His people in the beauty of holiness. And happy for us it was that, amongst the men who conducted all the matters, moderation prevailed even in things indifferent as well as in essentials. Had this not been the case, there is no saying to what a point of meagreness our social worship, even the administration of the Sacraments, the architecture and arrangement of our churches, might have been reduced. Since the introduction of toleration, by which men who disliked various matters might at their peril withdraw from the ceremonies of the Church, whilst those who valued such things at their true worth might remain and moderately enjoy them as part of the external system of the Church, the controversy has been much less embittered, although even now there are symptoms occasionally within the Church of estimating such unimportant points beyond their value, in the matter of surplices, decorations, and the like: one party striving to multiply ceremonies, and another equally anxious to curtail them beyond their just limits.

The truth is, they are in their essence things indifferent (*ἀδιάφορα*), and are precisely those points in which some authority is requisite to determine what shall or shall not be done; and this authority, it is clear, cannot be vested anywhere with so much advantage as within the Church itself; it cannot be left to individuals, nor even to separate congregations; for the result would be, that every man would do what was right in his own eyes, and instead of an edifying uniformity, which enables every man to enter any church with the certainty of having things in the main conducted upon uniform principles, every separate congregation would be its own model, and the unity of the Church itself would be ultimately endangered; whereas, by declaring that the Church, clergy and laity, has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and by dictating in the main uniformity of practice in these particulars, those who belong to the Church may be

edified and united; and those who have the misfortune to prefer their private fancies to the general good, may, if they are so minded, quit the communion at their own peril, and go elsewhere. In excuse for the violent dissensions which these matters occasioned within the Church, it should be stated that before the Revolution, the Puritans, though enemies in many respects to the Church of England, were members and ministers of it: they were forced to complain and dispute: separation was difficult to be accomplished: otherwise disputes would have been more rare.

I may just mention that the other main points to which the Puritans objected, besides the habits, were the sign of the Cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, organs, pictures, painted windows, and the like.¹ Church architecture also was with them obnoxious. They appear to have been not only anti-Romish in excess, but also to have been deficient in what we call taste. In this respect a gradual improvement is visible among the present representatives of the party.

From what has been said, however, it must not be supposed that the Puritans really wished the Church to have no powers in such matters. They only wanted the power to be in their own hands; they objected to the particular ceremonies which they saw were likely to be imposed.

Now, turning to the Article, we may conceive it to be divided into two paragraphs—the first against Puritans, the second against Papists. Puritans are opposed as setting aside all use of human prudence in providing the means of exercising social worship, as referring everything to Holy Scripture, requiring everything to be not only consistent with the Bible, but actually enjoined by it; Papists as aiming to advance human authority above the Word of God. The Church of England, steering a middle course, claims the existence of such power as is compatible with the will of God declared in Holy Scripture.

The meaning and extent of the word Church is left unlimited, and must be determined by circumstances; if all the Churches in the world were in communion together, then the whole visible Catholic Church: if so many particular Churches, or one particular Church, then that portion of the Church Catholic. Taking the religious world as divided then, and as now, it seems to claim the power for each particular Church

¹ See on these matters the Declaration at the end of the Office for Public Baptism; and at the end of the Communion Office; the Preface "Of Ceremonies," to the Prayer-Book; the 30th Canon; and Hooker, *Eccles. Pol. B. v. c. 65*, § 1.

as a part of its independent right. In what part of the religious society the power resides, whether in a spiritual monarch, or in a democracy, or an aristocracy, it is not defined. The compilers evidently left this an open question, to be determined by the usage of the best times of the Church.

“Power” means rightful power.

Now, though I have said that the Article is virtually divided into two paragraphs, yet I think it advisable at this point to divide it into the following propositions, each with its attendant limitation, not regarding the regular order.

1. The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies.

First limitation: It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God’s Word written.

2. The Church hath authority in controversies of faith.

Second limitation: It may not so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another.

Corollary: The Church is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ.

Limitations to the corollary:—

(a.) It ought not to decree anything, whether doctrine or ceremony, against the same.

(b.) It ought not to enforce anything besides the same, whether doctrine or practice, as to be believed or done for necessity of salvation.

As an instance of what is besides Holy Writ, we may instance the use of the Cross in Baptism,—a thing advisable, but not necessary.

1. The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies. This results from the first notions of every society, where certain rules, even certain special rules, are necessary to its very existence; as St. Augustine says: “In nullum nomen religionis, neque verum neque falsum, coagulari homines possunt, nisi aliquo signaculorum vel sacramentorum visibilium consortio colligentur.”¹ And as circumstances vary, there must be power somewhere to modify ceremonies. What would suit one climate or state of the Church would not suit another. If an assembly is held in the open air, it is clearly lawful to be covered; to remain covered, as the Protestants in Holland do, within the church, is not decent; whereas the Oriental custom, again, is to place respect in a covered head; and so of several other matters.

If, then, religious society must have some rules, either they must have been provided by divine authority, or else left to human discretion. (Of course we are speaking, *ex*

¹ August. c. Faust. xix. 11.

hypothesi, of ἀδιάφορα.) Has our Saviour, then, left such rules, either by Himself or by His apostles? The answer is, none but the most general precepts:—"Give none offence," in 1 Cor. x. 32, which follows the words, "Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." "Let all things be done decently and in order" (1 Cor. xiv. 40). "Let all things be done unto edifying" (1 Cor. xiv. 26). We find also, in addition, intimations that there are certain things which the apostle did not think it necessary to write about, but which he referred to the personal arrangement of himself and others. "The rest" (*i.e.* those things which remained after fixing, upon right principles, the essentials of the Holy Communion, which is the main subject of chap. xi.), "the rest will I set in order when I come" (1 Cor. xi. 34). "I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting" (Tit. i. 5)—passages which imply that details are settled according to circumstances. Of course, if we can discover what these details are, and we may approach to it by studying the primitive Church history, a Church would act more wisely by following that pattern; but the very fact that they are not authoritatively revealed is evidence that they are left as ἀδιάφορα.

The argument is strengthened by the analogy of the law, which is even a stronger case than that at issue. They were not to add to it, nor to take from it; yet we find the institution of the Feast of Purim (Esther ix. 21-26), of the dedication (St. John x. 22), and of synagogues—all established subsequently to the law, showing that its unalterableness, commanded by God himself, must be interpreted as applying only to essential things.

I need hardly mention that the right here contended for has been practically exercised, as well as recognised by the whole stream of Christian writers from the apostolic times.

First limitation: It is not lawful to ordain anything (either of faith or practice) contrary to God's Word written.

This seems a self-evident proposition, and it was implied *a fortiori* in Article vi.; for if nothing that is not read in Holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is to be required, still more is this true of what is contrary to it.

2. The Church hath authority in controversies of faith. The witness of the Church is to have weight. We know, from the result of the last Article, that our Church claims for no Church infallibility, on the ground that facts are against it. But the Church has some authority, not in making articles of faith, but in declaring them; in determining controversies and stopping heresies, by stating the

true doctrine as a fact. When any particular Church has so stated it, it has authority which must not lightly be set aside: as in proportion as the whole Church Catholic declares a truth, the authority becomes indefinitely increased. In the first case, the Articles themselves are a practical commentary upon the claim here asserted. For the case of the whole Church we may take Nice, or any one of the first four Councils.

Second limitation: All Scripture being given by inspiration of God, one part cannot contradict another; we must therefore interpret according to the analogy of the faith.

The corollary and its limitations have been, in fact, considered before.

ARTICLE XXI.

ARTICULUS XXI.

De Auctoritate Conciliorum Generalium.

GENERALIA Concilia, sine iussu et voluntate Principum congregari non possunt. Et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes Spiritu et Verbo Dei reguntur, et errare possunt et interdum errarunt, etiam in his quae ad normam pietatis pertinent: ideoque quae ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent, neque auctoritatem, nisi ostendi possint e sacris literis esse desumpta.

ARTICLE XXI.

Of the Authority of General Councils.

GENERAL Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

IN the Latin the several editions of this Article are almost identical; but in the English edition of 1552, after "have erred" occur the words, "not onely in worldlie matiers, but also." It is also noticeable that "may not" is the equivalent of "non possunt;" "things pertaining unto God" of "quae ad normam pietatis pertinent;" and "unless it may be declared," of "nisi ostendi possint" (1552, "possunt").

The number of Councils in general is very considerable. There are few of any authority before the beginning of the fourth century; hardly any whose genuine decrees have come down to us; none whatever general. The number of Councils of all kinds since the Council of Nice, of which some particulars are known, the proceedings as well as the Canons, is nearly five hundred, and they are contained in one collection, that of Mansi, in thirty-nine vols. fol.¹ The

¹ There appears here to be some mistake. There are two collections of the Councils, one by Coletus, in twenty-three vols. fol., Venet. 1728, with a supplement by Mansi, in six vols., Lucae, 1748-52; the other a

number of General Councils is variously stated; some recognise only seven or eight, the Romanists about eighteen;¹ those of which the Church of England acknowledges the value are six. The first four—Nice in 325, Constantinople in 381, Ephesus in 431, and Chalcedon in 451—were compared by Gregory the Great to the four Gospels. Their authority is even recognised in an Act of Parliament passed in Queen Elizabeth's reign.² The remaining two are the second Council of Constantinople in 553, summoned by Justinian, and the third Council of Constantinople, called also Quinisextum, or in Trullo, summoned in 691 by Justinian II.

Councils and Synods are divided into General and Particular, or Provincial: Œcumenical and National.

National or Provincial Synods again are subdivided into Diocesan Synods. Supposing any point of doubt to arise in a diocese, the Churches in that diocese would send representatives to consult for the common good, and then it would be a Diocesan Council under the presidency of the Bishop; if several dioceses had a common interest in any matter, they could unite in the Provincial Synod, under the Metropolitan of the province; if several provinces, then it would be a National Synod, under the chief Metropolitan; if the Churches of several nations unite in sending delegates to one common assembly, then the Council is a General one, more or less so according to the number of national Churches which send representatives, and it would be under an elected president; if the national Churches of all the world send delegates, then the Council is called Œcumenical—*οἰκουμένη*. It should be observed that, in strictness of speech, there never was an Œcumenical Council. Those approach it most nearly which have been, not so much attended by delegates from all Churches (for, as compared with the whole number of Christian Bishops, a small number only actually went), as sanctioned retrospectively by their decrees, or Canons, as they are technically called, having been accepted by all the orthodox Churches throughout the world. So at Nice there were only 318 Bishops, yet from the subsequent

reprint by Mansi in thirty-one vols. fol., Flor. 1757-98, incorporating the supplement, but only reaching to the year 1509, whereas the former edition brings the Councils down to 1727.—J. R. K.

¹ See on this point Jer. Taylor, *Dissuasive from Popery*, B. i. § 1, vol. vi. p. 356, etc. (ed. 1852.)

² 1 Eliz. c. 1, §§ 18 and 33, gives authority to constitute a Queen's Commission to determine heresy, referring as a standard to (1.) the Holy Scriptures, (2.) the first four Councils, or any subsequent Council founding its decrees on clear scriptural authority.

universal acceptance of the Nicene Creed, it may truly be called Ecumenical, or Universal.

Thus much being premised, and observing also that the present argument has nothing to do with the time anterior to the conversion of Constantine, but that when we say "Princes," we mean Christian princes, we proceed to divide the Article into two parts: (1.) As to the power of calling Councils; (2.) As to the infallibility of General Councils. To this is appended as an inference that "things ordained by them as necessary to salvation" have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

With respect to the first part, the Article is directed against the pretensions of the Church of Rome, which claims for the Pope the right of convoking Councils by his own sole authority, of presiding in them, and of confirming them. As nothing is said in the Article about presiding or confirming, it is needless to dwell upon these points here; but it has often been shown that those pretensions also are equally unfounded in right and fact. For at the Council of Jerusalem, to which they appeal as the model of their Council, it was not St. Peter (whose successor the Pope claims to be) but St. James who presided. And so far was the confirmation of the Pope from being necessary to the validity of the Canons, that many were passed in defiance of their opinion and their remonstrances. The Article, however, treats only of the convocation of the Council, and it asserts that what is true of Provincial or National Councils is true also of General Councils. With respect to National Councils, whether large or small, it is clearly competent to the supreme power in a State to consent expressly or tacitly to their meeting, and consequently also to prohibit them. In like manner the Article says,—"General Councils may not be called together (meaning by the Pope's authority, or by any other) without the consent of princes." This is proved by the reason of the thing, for it is clear that if a foreign power is to summon a Council, and to compel the Bishops of any particular country to defy their sovereign and quit their homes without his express or tacit consent, his sovereignty is at an end. This may not be so evident from our current notions in England respecting the rights of the subject; but it is nevertheless true in law that the Queen, acting by the Queen's Courts, can forbid any subject to leave the kingdom by issuing a writ "*ne exeat regno*," and can also compel him to return home. In law, whenever we go or stay abroad, it is by the sovereign's tacit assent. The supremacy of the sovereign is

thus stated by Tertullian,—“Imperator omnibus maior, solo vero Deo minor.”¹

2. By the example of the Old Testament. Numbers xi. 16: it was not Aaron, but Moses who convoked the seventy elders, afterwards termed the Great Sanhedrim. 1 Chron. xiii. 1, 2: David summoned the priests about bringing back the ark. Again, on another occasion, 1 Chron. xxiii. 2. Again, Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxix. 4. Again, Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 1, at the dedication. Again, Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 1.

3. By the fact that the Emperors did summon the Councils, and not the Pope; sometimes at the Pope's request, sometimes against his will.

(a.) The Council of Nice was summoned by Constantine the Great,²—Constantine summoning a phalanx of God against Arius *σύνοδον οἰκουμένην συνεκρότει σπεύδειν ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς Ἐπισκόπους γράμμασι τιμητικοῖς προκαλοῦμενος*. This is confirmed by other testimonies, and, *inter alia*, by the words of the Council itself, in a letter to the Church of Alexandria.³

(b.) The General Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, was called by the Emperor Theodosius for the purpose of confirming the Canons of the Council of Nice (hence the joint Creed).

(c.) The General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, was called by Theodosius the younger, presided over by Cyril of Alexandria, against Nestorius, who maintained two persons in Christ.

(d.) The General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, was called by the joint Emperors Valentinian and Marcian, against Eutyches, the denier of the two natures.

(e.) The Second Council of Constantinople, A.D. 553, was called by Justinian, in reality against Vigilius the Pope, for the confirmation of the Council of Chalcedon.

(f.) The Council “in Trullo,” or “Quinisextum,” at Constantinople, was called by Justinian II., A.D. 692. This is not acknowledged by Rome, because it resisted the Papal pretensions. This was the first great act of the schism between the East and the West.

(g.) The Second Council of Nicaea, against which Charlemagne summoned the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, was called by Constantine and Irene, A.D. 787.

(h.) The Third Council of Constantinople, which is not acknowledged by all the Greeks, was called by the Emperor Basil the Macedonian, A.D. 869.

¹ Tertull. 2 cap. ad Scapulam.

² Euseb. de Vit. Constant. iii. 6.

³ Socrat. Hist. i. 7.

So that our proposition is abundantly proved by these eight Councils, which are all that are acknowledged as genuine by the Greek Church, or by any one except the Papists, and which were all without exception called by the Emperors.

4. The fourth ground on which we prove it is that this fact as to the Emperors summoning the Council is expressly recognised by ancient writers. The ecclesiastical historian Socrates, in the opening of the fifth book of his History, uses these words—"We continually include the Emperors in our history, because from the time that they began to profess Christianity the affairs of the Church depended upon them, and according to their will the greatest Councils were and are still assembled."¹ Again, St. Jerome in his second Defence against Ruffinus, says, "Answer me, in what Council was that person condemned? Tell the name of the bishops. Tell us who were the Consuls in that year, and who was the Emperor that summoned that Council."

The only thing remaining in this first sentence which requires notice is that the word used is not "the Emperor," but "Princes." All the instances we have mentioned as summoning Councils were Emperors, but that was simply because the whole civilized world was in a manner under an Emperor. When that great Empire was split up into those separate kingdoms which with a few changes still continued, it is manifest that no one sovereign could dictate to other Sovereigns as to whether bishops subject to them should obey the summons to a Council. The Empire of Germany, which was called the Holy Roman Empire, as if it were identical with the ancient Roman Empire, even when it still existed, before its dissolution by Napoleon, and was in its most flourishing state, had no pretension to universal dominion even on the Continent, and with respect to our own country it has been from the earliest times a constitutional principle that the kingdom of England is an empire, as expressly reasserted in 24 and 25 Henry VIII.² The only legitimate conclusion from this breaking up of the old Roman Empire, is that each sovereign has his share of the right possessed by the single Emperor, and that therefore (whilst no one sovereign can compel others to send bishops to a Council) each sovereign may give his consent, without which consent, either express or implied, it is not lawful for the bishops of that country

¹ Soer. Hist. v. i.

² See Blackstone, Book i. cap. 7, p. 242, vol. i. Before the Conquest the King of England is called βασιλεὺς or Imperator, and we speak still of the Imperial Parliament.

to attend the Council by whomsoever called. Hence the expression in the Article is not "General Councils cannot be summoned by Princes," as the example of the Emperors would lead us to think, but that "they cannot be summoned without the commandment and will of Princes."

The result of the whole argument is, that the English Church was perfectly justified in refusing to attend, or to admit the validity of the decrees of the so-called Council of Trent, which was illegitimately called—a mere packed assembly of the Pope's adherents, wanting all the marks of a true genuine Council, besides that several of its decrees are erroneous and heretical.

The second proposition in the Article treats of the pretended infallibility of General Councils, and it contains a statement and a reason: (*a.*) General Councils may err; (*β.*) they have erred; and that "forasmuch as they be an assembly of men where all be not governed with the Spirit and the Word of God;"¹ and then follows the inference, "Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation," etc. Now with respect to the question that they may err, it immediately results from the causes aforesaid if true.² If it is true that human beings assembled in General Councils have not all the Spirit of God, as no human being can say beforehand how many there are who have not the Spirit of God, although we may hope that the majority will be rightly guided; and since, as a matter of fact, which we shall see presently, there have been Councils, the majorities in which have decided contrary to the faith, *i.e.* contrary to the dictates of the Spirit, it follows that no one can be certain, *a priori*, when they come together, that they will not err. In other words, they may err. It is, however, the less necessary to dwell on this *a priori* speculation as to possibility of error, *i.e.* fallibility, inasmuch as we have the much more satisfactory and conclusive evidence from experience: "General Councils have erred, even in matters pertaining to God, not only in minor matters of ceremonies and the like, but in matters of faith." Observe, however, in passing, the moderation and truth with which our Church states the proposition, "sometimes have erred," marking, in fact, that she considers General Councils entitled, if genuine, to the greatest respect,

¹ Gregory of Nazianzum, seeing the party feeling and corruption of members of Councils, went so far as to say that he had never seen any good end of any Council (ad Procopium, ii. 110, quoted by Jewel, Def. of Apol., Part vi. vol. vi. p. 222).

² Of course this has no reference to the inspired Council of Jerusalem.

not to superstitious reverence. In other words, not on the footing of the *sui generis* inspired Council of Jerusalem.

And, first, even according to Romish views of this matter, it seems impossible for Romanists, for their own sakes, not to confess that General Councils have sometimes erred. For some of them have deposed Popes, as that of Constantinople in the seventh century; that of Basle, a General Council, deposed Pope Eugenius II. in 1439; that of Constance in 1417 forced three Popes to resign, one of them being forcibly deposed.

Let us now come to the facts which prove that they have erred. Respecting the first six Councils, the four principal ones, and their supplements, the second Council of Constantinople, A.D. 553, and the Council in Trullo, A.D. 692, the Church of England, according to all her accredited authorities, accept them as having defined what is scriptural and therefore true. The first in which error is found is the second Council of Nice, which, in plain contradiction to the first principles of religion, defined that images should be worshipped.

The next Council which erred was the Council of Lateran, A.D. 1415, which, contrary to the Holy Scriptures, to the old Fathers, and to the whole doctrine of the primitive Church, gave its sanction to the heresy of Transubstantiation; of which more hereafter.

Again, the Council of Constance, A.D. 1414, which decreed that no presbyter administer both the kinds, *i.e.* both bread and wine, to the laity, under pain of excommunication—which error was reiterated in the Council of Basle, 1431, and which is in direct violation of our Lord's commands, and, as allowed by Roman controversialists themselves, absolutely contrary to the primitive Church; and the extent of the mischief is so great, that whatever we may hope, there is no covenanted certainty that the Roman laity do in fact receive the Communion at all.

Again, the Council of Basle, A.D. 1431, asserted the error that the Blessed Virgin Mary did not actually lie under original sin; but was always free, both from original and actual fault, etc.

The Council of Florence, A.D. 1439, maintains the error of Purgatory, also the seven Sacraments.

Lastly, the Council which gave occasion to this Article, the Council of Trent, is full of errors. Amongst others is the heretical addition by Pope Pius IV., of twelve new articles to the Nicene Creed. But as it is against that Council that this Article is directed, it would not be logical to introduce

the Tridentine errors, which, in fact, consolidate, perpetuate, define, and confirm ancient errors, into the proof of a conclusion directed against its authority and value.

All that has been said is perfectly consistent with acknowledging that the Church universal shall never totally fail in faith,—that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. We acknowledge with thankfulness that during the first six centuries, during which Councils were a fair representation of the Church universal, the faith was kept without material error; further, that even when Councils were physically and ecclesiastically disabled from being in any sense true representations of the Church, there were always some who held to the truth, even in those points erroneously decided; and, lastly, that even the Church of Rome, when she sinned grievously in adding her errors to the true faith, never departed from the main truths of Christianity, as I explained under Article xx. Accordingly the two first propositions are proved.

Now the inference in the last clause of the Article lays stress on "*ut saluti necessaria.*" The Article passes by things indifferent.

This proposition is only a re-statement of the first principle upon which the purification of our Church proceeded, stated and proved already in Article vi. The function, then, of Councils is to declare scriptural truths, not to make new ones, but to assert, illustrate, and defend old ones.¹

¹ For this Article see further Jewel's Letters to Scipio, vol. vii. p. 72, etc.; and Defence of Apology, Part vi. vol. vi. p. 210, etc.

ARTICLE XXII.

ARTICULUS XXII.

De Purgatorio.

DOCTRINA Romanensium, de Purgatorio, de indulgentiis, de veneratione, et adoratione tum imaginum, tum reliquiarum, nec non de invocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum Testimoniis innititur: immo verbo Dei contradicit.

ARTICLE XXII.

Of Purgatory.

THE Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

THE only differences in the editions of this Article that require notice are that for “*Doctrina Romanensium*,” the edition of 1552 has “*Scholasticorum doctrina*,” “the doctrine of Schole authoures;” and that in the last clause it has “*perniciose*” before “*contradicit*,” which, however, is not rendered in the English.

The first thing to be observed is that the title is “Of Purgatory;” several other errors of Romanism are condemned with it. Also that the doctrine upon all these subjects is spoken of as one system of doctrine, a complex system made up of facts related to each other, and the whole pronounced to be a vain thing, as if it were only one thing. The fact is that one error of Romanism is so interwoven with another, that they naturally suggest each other. Keeping in mind, therefore, this connexion, which, when I have treated of the separate parts of this Article *seriatim* I will illustrate more clearly, it becomes necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to consider the sentence as made up of so many distinct propositions, each of which we must prove in turn.

1. The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory is a fond thing, vainly invented, and founded upon no warrant of Holy Scripture, but rather is repugnant to (*contradicit*) the Word of God.

First, then, what is the Romish doctrine of Purgatory? Now the definition by Cardinal Bellarmine, as given in the Council

of Trent, was this: "a certain place in which, as in a prison-house, those souls are purified after this life which are not perfectly purified in this life, so that they may enter heaven, where nothing unclean can enter;" and the instrument which is generally conceived to be employed in this purification is fire.

Observe, however, that the persons for whom this place is said to be prepared are not the perfectly wicked,—for the Roman Church, in common with our own, holds that such persons are reserved for eternal punishment in the place of torment, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. Purgatory is deemed to be a temporary place of suffering for those who are imperfectly good, and it is supposed to purge those various sins, which are not of a nature to deserve eternal punishment. I have before observed upon the presumption of accurately discriminating between one sin and another, and determining what sins are venial and what are absolutely mortal. It is upon this vain discrimination that the doctrine of Purgatory is partly¹ based. We say with Christian antiquity that all sin in itself deserves God's wrath, and that all sin is upon repentance purged away, not by Purgatory, but by the blood of Jesus Christ. The Romanist says that there are certain kinds of sin which can only be purged by purgatorial fire; viz., such sins as might be satisfied for in this life, but which, not being so satisfied for, remain to be satisfied for in Purgatory.

Now, omitting for the present the untenableness of the Romish notion of satisfaction, observe the consequence immediately resulting from this distinction: the kinds of sin which are the subject-matter of the doctrine of Purgatory are of the most vague and indefinite nature; nobody can tell exactly what they consist of, nor where the limit is to be placed between them and mortal sins. Most men can ascertain with tolerable certainty, if they will only examine themselves by the rule of God's commandments, whether they have committed mortal sins; and upon repentance of these they are for Christ's merits, and through faith in His blood, forgiven and washed away, so that the sinner may die with a quiet conscience.

But according to the Romish theory, many of these so-called venial sins, which are to be washed out in Purgatory,

¹ Partly, because besides this they hold that there is in mortal sins, repented of and forgiven as to their eternal punishment, a remnant of sin, more or less, to be satisfied for in Purgatory, in commutation of those temporal pains which are not perfectly paid in this life. The division into venial and mortal sins was however the first form in which the error appeared.

are from their nature what David calls "secret sins,"¹ Now observe what a fearful engine this furnishes for taking captive weak minds. The most fertile parent of all superstition is vagueness, and here is vagueness applying to every moment of our existence in the flesh. There is not a day nor an hour in which any one of us can speak of himself as free from all those sins in one shape or another; we do not know the amount of responsibility which is here laid upon us by every such single sin, still less what may be their accumulated weight during a whole life. It is to be remarked, moreover, that this uncertainty as affecting an individual, in his estimate of his own case, is indefinitely multiplied when we come to consider the effect of such sins, according to the Romish theory, upon our relations and friends, over and above ourselves; and it is precisely with reference to this particular point, the safety and comfort of our departed friends, that this awful instrument of fraud and deceit has its chief application. The so-called masses, which are purchased of the Romish priest, which we shall have occasion presently to speak of, as one of the chief instances of the deceivableness of this doctrine of Purgatory, masses for the relief of souls actually in Purgatory, or for their release from it before the Day of Judgment, are chiefly bought by the relations of friends departed: so many masses for so much money. We shall recur to this part of the subject presently. I use it now only to show to what extent vagueness as to the nature and amount of the sins requiring to be satisfied for in Purgatory contributes to the use of this fabled place of temporary punishment, and to the absolute control which the priest possesses over weak and superstitious minds, by an appeal to their insatiable credulity on this subject. It is true that the amount of future retribution in Purgatory may, according to this anti-scriptural theory, be diminished previously to death by temporal pains, sacrifices, almsdeeds, in and by satisfaction so-called in this life; but this only increases the vagueness with which the subject presents itself to men's imaginations; no one can weigh sins against penalties in this way; no one can tell to what extent, if the theory were as true as it is false, the sum of all his good deeds when alive may be considered as a set-off² against the sum of his liabilities in Purgatory; how much is to be subtracted on this

¹ Psalm xix. 12: "Who can tell how oft he offendeth? O cleanse thou me from my secret faults."

² I do not mean by this expression to convey any ludicrous sense in a serious matter, but the term is naturally suggested by the commercial nature of all purgatorial transactions.

account. The vagueness I speak of is a real practical matter, affecting the faith of millions, and the extent to which credulity is carried, as to the possible duration of the pains of Purgatory, may be estimated by the fact that it is no uncommon thing for Popes to remit, upon certain conditions, such as pilgrimages, etc., a certain portion of the term of purification; and the time so remitted often amounts to thousands of years. Now, if the time remitted is so great, what is the duration of the unremitted penalty? It is easy to see, if we went no further, what a fearful lever is here ready to the hands of Romish priests, how indefinitely their influence is increased, what a fearful foundation this is for sacerdotalism, or the arbitrary tyranny of an unscrupulous priesthood, and how irresistible such inducements must be, not only to extort money from the laity, but also to move millions of people to go on pilgrimages, to address the Blessed Virgin Mary in prayer, to visit and to worship the Holy Coat, etc. This, however, is touching prematurely upon my next subject of Pardons or Indulgences.

But bearing in mind these observations respecting the sins which constitute the subject-matter of Purgatory, let us look more closely what Purgatory is. Now this doctrine of an intermediate state of suffering is in fact an opinion derived from heathenism, being only the exponent of a delusion very acceptable to the natural man, for whose special use heathenism was raised by the arch-enemy of mankind. It originates in the natural horror of dwelling in everlasting torment; the mind of man seeks some escape from that thought, and finds it only in conceding that some temporary punishment after death may purify the soul from its moral pollutions. Hence the idea of a transmigration of souls; hence the idea of satisfying the Divine justice by a punishment of indefinite though fixed duration, after which the soul would be at rest. If any one doubts that a purgatory, in the shape of fire, was a part of the heathen mythology, let him read Virgil,¹ which might almost seem a description of the Romish doctrine. The same view substantially is also found in Plato,² that fertile source of heresy. It is remarkable, further, that the same view was to some extent held by some of the early heretics,—Carpocrates, Montanus, and the followers of Origen, who himself believed in the final salvation of devils.³

¹ Virg. *Æn.* vi. 735, etc.

² See the story of Er the Armenian, in Plat. *Rep.* x. 13, etc.

³ See August. de *Civitate Dei*, xxi. 17, quoted in Jewel, *Def. of Apol.* vol. v. p. 200.

So much for the first beginning of the error, which might have led its Romish advocates to pause before they attempted to justify this gross corruption, this compliance with the yearnings of the "natural man," to the virtual dishonour and disparagement of that precious blood which taketh away the sins of the world.

Now this error being even tolerated wilfully, or tacitly sanctioned in a Church, is a very awful dereliction of Christian principle. In dark ages it might be reckoned comparatively pardonable, particularly when those dark ages—which, however, were not so dark after all as some have represented them—were further darkened by the metaphysical subtleties of the Schoolmen. "If the light which is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" if those who claimed to be the illuminators of the world only increased the dimness by their "foolish and unlearned questions, which gender strife," how sad was the condition of the great ignorant mass of mankind under such teachers! The doctrine of Purgatory then rose up in a congenial soil, in an age suited alike to its invention and to its growth and maturity. The Article in its first shape in 1552 very appropriately entitled the doctrine of Purgatory "the doctrine of"—its great inventors and propagators—"the Schoolmen," for up to that point it was hardly known that the Council of Trent had passed any decree about it. Up to this time it had been looked upon as what is called a floating opinion, generally held by individuals in the Church,¹ but not as a matter of faith,—not synodically decreed as such, particularly under anathema. So far, then, it could hardly be called "*Doctrina Romanensium*;" but in the interval between the compilation of the Articles in 1552 and their revision in 1562 the case was altered; it became known that certain decrees had been made by the Council of Trent implying the synodical sanction of Purgatory,—I mean the Canon passed in the sixth session, January 13, 1547, in the following terms:—"Si quis post acceptam iustificationis gratiam cuilibet peccatori poenitenti culpam ita remitti, et reatum aeternae poenae deleri dixerit, ut nullus remaneat reatus poenae temporalis exsolvendae, vel in hoc saeculo, *vel in futuro in purgatorio*, antequam ad regnum coelorum aditus pateri possit, anathema esto."² Nothing can express more fully the error which had

¹ It is true that the Council of Florence also meddled with this matter, but it was not a General Council.

² Conc. Trident., Sess. vi., *de Iustificatione*, Can. xxx. 27; Sess. xxv., *Decretum de Purgatorio*. Besides this, it was implied in the Canons *de Sacrificio Missae*, passed at the 22d Session, September 17, 1562.

hitherto been floating ever since the time of the Schoolmen. You will observe that it is under anathema, that it is a matter of faith. No longer then a matter of indifference, but now defined by a Council, which, whatever its value elsewhere, was at least absolutely received with the Romish obedience. It was no longer the doctrine of individuals, on which the unauthorized practice of the Church was founded; but it was the final doctrine of the Church of Rome itself. Hence the very proper change in the wording of the Article to "*Doctrina Romanensium*." And if this was proper in 1562, it was still more necessary to retain it in the revision of 1571; because in this second interval another express Canon had been made in the 25th Session, closed December 4, 1563.

We must consider this subject of Purgatory shortly in connexion with that of Pardons. At present I take it alone, and have now to prove that it is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, and, even further (*immo*), repugnant to the Word of God.

1. It is a fond thing; "*futilis*;" inconsistent with the truth and sobriety of the Gospel.

2. It is vainly invented; *invented*, not derived from the Apostles, but an invention or innovation of later and corrupt times.

Now this involves the question of fact; and this question is decided by the confessions of Romish writers themselves. Bishop Fisher, in his controversy with Luther, Article Thirty-seven, says,—“Though we may not be able to adduce any one scripture which may compel the obstinate to confess Purgatory, will he nill he, there may yet exist some such passage, though it has hitherto escaped the most vigilant inquirers.” Again, Polydore Vergil, in his book *De Inventoribus Rerum* (b. 8, c. 1), tells us that “whoso searcheth the writings of the Greek Fathers shall find that none, or very rarely any of them, ever make mention of Purgatory; and that the Latin Fathers do not all believe it” (in which case, by the way, they are anathematized by the Council of Trent), “but by degrees came to entertain opinion of it; but for the Catholic Church, it was but lately known to her.”¹ These admissions spare us the trouble of examining the Fathers for

¹ This passage, quoted apparently from Jer. Taylor, *Dissuasive from Popery*, Part i. c. i. sec. 4, cannot be found in Vergil, as referred to; but he quotes a passage from Fisher's controversy with Luther (Art. xviii.) to the same effect: “*Nemo certe dubitat orthodoxus an purgatorium sit. de quo tamen apud priscos nulla vel quam rarissima fiebat mentio; sed et Græcis ad hunc usque diem non est creditum esse.*”—J. R. K.

ourselves; but the longer you examine the more you will see that the Latin Fathers even, who in some sense talked of purgatorial fire, among whom St. Augustine has been named, spoke quite doubtfully about its existence, and never thought of it in the sense invented or perfected by the Schoolmen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

3. It is "grounded upon no warranty of Scripture." Now, of course, the fairest way of arriving at a conclusion on this point is to examine the texts adduced by Romanists. Of these, the chief are Ps. lxvi. 12; Isa. ix. 18; Mic. vii. 8, 9; Zech. ix. 11; Mal. iii. 3; St. Matt. v. 22-26, xii. 32; Acts ii. 24; 1 Cor. iii. 15,¹ xv. 29; Phil. ii. 10; 1 St. Pet. iii. 19 (a passage mysteriously connected with the Article touching Christ's descent into Hell); 1 St. John v. 16.² The story of Judas Maccabæus (2 Macc. xii. 40-45) has also been alleged, but it is an apocryphal book.

Let us remember here what was said in the last Lecture respecting the little reliance placed by the Roman controversialists themselves on this scriptural proof; and in fact the whole scheme of the Scriptures on the subject is against its being an article of faith.

4. "Immo," nay, rather, "repugnant to the Word of God." The Romish doctrine is repugnant to Eccles. ix. 5, 6: "The dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. . . . Neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun:" as showing that they still have a share in the suffrages of the faithful. The Scriptures again speak only of a twofold state (St. Matt. vii. 13, 14, viii. 11; St. Luke xvi. 22, 23); whereas this doctrine brings in a third between heaven and hell.

It is opposed to the story of the penitent thief, who was to be at once with our Lord, not in Purgatory, but in Paradise.³

¹ St. Augustine interprets the saving "as by fire" in this passage of the surrender of the pleasant things of this life: "Urit eum dolor rerum quas dilexerat omissarum."—*Enchiridion*, c. 68. In the next chapter he speaks of purgatorial fire as possible: "Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, et utrum sit quaeri potest."—*Cp. de Civit. Dei*, xxi. 26.

² In Dr. Jelf's ms. these passages are simply named, without any attempt to examine them, perhaps on the same ground advanced by Dr. Hey, from whom they seem to be derived. He says (vol. iv. p. 136, ed. 2), "They seem to me to have so little weight that I may safely venture to omit them, referring to Bishop Porteus (p. 48) for a specimen. Indeed, some of them have been explained in our discussions, or in Bishop Pearson on the Descent into Hell." They are all carefully examined by Bishop Harold Browne.—J. R. K.

³ St. Luke xxiii. 43.

Again, our Lord says, "He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, . . . is passed from death unto life;"¹ whereas the Romanists say we shall pass to Purgatory instead. St. Paul's desire to "depart and to be with Christ, which is far better,"² is applied by Tertullian and others to the faithful generally; whereas it is not so applicable if there is Purgatory instead. By Hebrews ix. 27 we learn that our forgiveness through Christ is immediate; whereas Purgatory proceeds upon the assumption of a middle state between this life and the entrance into a state of perfect happiness. Again, 1 St. John i. 7-9 shows that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin;" whereas, according to the purgatorial theory, there are some sins which are not cleansed by Him, but require over and above the suffrages of the faithful, and the intervention of temporary torments. See also Rev. xiv. 13.

The Fathers are full of passages tending to show that they held the passage from this world to everlasting happiness to be immediate; as, for instance, St. Athanasius, "That which befalleth the righteous is not death, but translation; for they are translated out of this world into everlasting rest."³ Passages to the same effect might easily be multiplied, and a collection of several will be found in Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, Part i. c. i. sec. 4; but the first who approaches to anything like the Roman doctrine is Gregory I., in his Dialogues, if these are genuine. The author of these says in one place, that "we must believe in the power of fire to purify certain lighter faults before the judgment,"⁴ grounding his argument on St. Matt. xii. 32, as showing that some sins may be forgiven in the world to come.

It should be observed that there is no connexion between Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead. The latter we certainly find in comparatively early times; the practice being in my opinion highly objectionable, though it has been countenanced by good men. But then it may be remarked that in these prayers, so far as they are ancient, there is a clear reference to the last judgment, not the least mention of such prayers releasing from the pains of Purgatory. But the most conclusive proof on this point is that they prayed for the

¹ St. John v. 24.

² Phil. i. 23.

³ Athan. de Virgin.: Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς δικαίοις θάνατος, ἀλλὰ μετάρθεις· μετατίθενται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ἀνάπανσιν.

⁴ Greg. Dial. iv. 39: Περὶ τινῶν ἐλαφροτέρων πταισμάτων καθαρματικὸν εἶναι πῦρ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως πιστευτέον.

Blessed Virgin Mary and the Apostles, who by the Romanists themselves are considered to be out of Purgatory, or rather never in it.

2. Pardons are also a vain thing, fondly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God. Now the doctrine of Purgatory has had two distinct results: one, the doctrine that the pains of Purgatory are either generally capable of diminution by the suffrages of the living faithful, or specially that for particular persons they may be mitigated by alms or masses or pilgrimages, in a word, satisfactions vicariously offered by their relations or friends instead of the dead. "When any one," says Cardinal Bellarmine, "gives alms, or fasts, or goes a pilgrimage to holy places for the sake of the dead, he does not absolve the dead from the state of punishment, but offers that satisfaction for the dead; so that God, accepting it, frees the dead from the debt of the punishment which they would have suffered."¹ This question will be further treated of under Article xxxi., when we come to speak of masses for the quick and dead. Let us now only observe the abuses necessarily following from the practice.

The other result is the doctrine of pardons; and this is what we have now to treat of next. Pardons, then, as we shall see, are inseparably connected with Purgatory, and therefore, when we have established that connexion, we have, strictly speaking, nothing more to do; because if the place where these pardons are is non-existent, the pardons themselves are *pro tanto* not available.

The word Pardons is used to render the Latin "*Indulgentiæ*," and it is equivalent to the more commonly used word Indulgences. Formerly a Pardoner was one who dealt in such merchandise. Now it must not be confounded with the word "absolution," or "the power of the keys," legitimately exercised, as in the Church of England, in order to the relief, upon repentance, of consciences loaded with sin. Neither is it merely that corrupt form of discipline which has displaced in the Church of Rome the genuine discipline of the primitive Church, and which is now called Penance (of which more hereafter, under Article xxv.) I must just say that ancient discipline consisted in very severe and *bona fide* punishment for sin,—excommunication for a period of years, or for life; only remitted when there was complete proof of penitence in the face of the Church. Now the

¹ Bellarmine, vol. iii. p. 1169 (ed. Paris, 1608), quoted in Tyler's Tract on Indulgences, p. 15.

Romish system consists principally in externals, the saying so many Aves and the like ; in short, a commutation of real penitence for Romish Penance. Now Pardons or Indulgences are intended to meet those cases in which the satisfaction, so called, has not been perfectly performed in this life ; a making up in Purgatory the exact quantity of temporal punishment which was due, but not paid, by the sinner while still in the body. So that this monstrous and unscriptural system is in fact a corruption of a corruption ; a commutation upon a commutation ; one further step in the career of error ; a new development of Satan's devices. Nor is this all. It is held by some that not only may this commutation for the temporal punishment due to venial or the venial part part of deadly sins avail, but that by virtue of these Pardons the pain of eternal punishment may be commuted for the temporal pain of Purgatory. But there is also another error closely interwoven with this, that of Works of Supererogation (already treated of under Article xiv.), the superabundant merits of the saints constituting the treasury out of which these Indulgences are paid. Thus at the end of the 21st Session of the Council of Trent these Indulgences are called "coelestis Ecclesiae thesaurus."¹

The person to whom this treasury of merit for the release of souls out of Purgatory is assigned is, according to the Church of Rome, the Pope, *aut per se, aut per alios*. We are told in a Brief of Leo x., who was Pope from 1513 to 1521, that "the Roman Church—which, as their mother, other Churches are bound to follow,—has taught by tradition that the Roman Pontiff, successor of the key-bearer Peter, and vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, by the power of the keys, . . . may, for reasonable causes, grant to the faithful of Christ, who by the bond of charity are members of Christ, whether they be in this life or in Purgatory, indulgences out of the superabundance of the merits of Christ and of the saints ; and by his apostolic authority, by granting the indulgence as well for the living as for the dead, to dispense the treasure of the merits of Christ and of the saints, he has been accustomed either to confer the indulgence itself by the way of absolution, or to transfer it after the manner of a suffrage."² And what is even more remarkable, he is empowered to grant it prospectively : many of the indulgences now taken advantage of by Romanists having been granted by Popes dead several hundred years ago. Mr. Tyler quotes

¹ Conc. Trid., Sess. xxi. c. 9.

² Brief of Leo x., quoted by Tyler, Indulgences, p. 14.

a volume of "Hours of the most Blessed Virgin Mary, according to the Use of the Church of Sarum," published at Paris in 1526, containing forms of prayer to the Virgin, "many of which are prefaced by notifications of indulgences, startling indeed to us, but apparently familiar to our countrymen of that day, promised to those who duly repeat the prayers. These indulgences are granted by Popes and by Bishops, some of them dead centuries before that time. They guarantee remission of punishment for different spaces of time, varying from a few weeks to 90,000 years; they undertake to warrant freedom from hell; they promise remission of punishment for venial sins and for deadly sins to the same person, and on the same condition; they assure, according to the spiritual wants of the individual, both a commutation of the pains of eternal damnation for the pains of Purgatory, and a change of the sufferings of Purgatory into a full and free pardon."¹ What has hitherto been read relates to a time anterior to the Council of Trent. But what says Trent itself? First an indulgence of three years and 160 days was granted to all who should appear on the opening of the Council; and in its twenty-fifth Session, December 4, 1563, a decree was passed enjoining that the use of Indulgences should be retained in the Church.²

Similarly, in the additions made by Pius IV. to the Nicene Creed the following clause occurs: "Indulgentiæ etiam potestatem a Christo in ecclesiæ relictam esse, illarumque usum Christiano populo maximam salutem esse affirmo."

But the question is, Are these impieties sanctioned now? It may be that the tone, which was one of unmixed blasphemy before the Reformation, has been somewhat mitigated to suit modern feelings; yet the theory and practice of indulgences is maintained strictly still. The proofs of this are given in detail by Mr. Tyler, from whose tract the following extract may suffice as a specimen. It is taken from a Bull of Pope Leo XII., granting a grand "jubilee" in the year 1825. "We publish," it says, "the universal and most solemn jubilee, to commence in this holy city, from the first Vespers of the Nativity, and to continue during the whole year 1825; during which year of jubilee we *mercifully give and grant* in the Lord, a full and plenary indulgence, remission, and pardon of all their sins to all the faithful of Christ of both sexes, truly penitent and confessing their sins, and receiving the Holy

¹ Tyler, Indulgences, pp. 16, 17.

² Conc. Trid., Sess. xxv., Decretum de indulgentiis.

Communion, who shall devoutly visit the churches of Peter and Paul, as also of St. John Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore, of this city, for thirty successive days.”¹

And this naturally brings us to the consideration of the cognate question of jubilees. The first was proclaimed A.D. 1300 by Boniface VIII., promising plenary indulgence to any one who, during the last year of any century, should visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome for thirty days successively.² Now jubilees are celebrated every twenty-five years; and are found a source of enormous profit, through the offerings of the faithful who visit Rome during their observance.

3. The worshipping and adoration as well of images as of reliques is a fond thing vainly invented, etc.

Before we proceed to consider the doctrine of our Church respecting Images, it will be proper to consider what the corruption is which this Article is intended to reform. And in order thoroughly to understand this, we must consider the two different sorts of objects which these images profess to represent. The distinction will probably be recognised by Romanists:—1. The blessed Trinity; and here the most shocking part of the system consists in the representation of God the Father. The difference between this and the representation of the human body of our Lord, as on crucifixes, and even of the Dove as the emblem of the Holy Ghost, is obvious. 2. The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints; and this derives its principal danger from the worship of the Virgin and the Saints themselves, of which hereafter; this part of the system involving for the mass of the Romish people a double idolatry, the one of the image, the other of the saint represented.

The exact nature of the Romish doctrine on this subject may be seen from the decree relating to it, which was passed in the last session of the Council of Trent, December 3, 1563. In this decree the Second Council of Nicæa (A.D. 787) is accepted, in which it was declared, with respect to the *kind* of adoration paid to images, that “there are not two sorts of adoration, but one only adoration, both of the image, and also of the sampler, whereof the image is.”³ And though the decree of the Council of Trent takes pains to explain that “it is not believed that there is in the images themselves any divinity or virtue which gives them a claim to worship,

¹ Tyler, *Indulgences*, p. 23.

² Polydore Vergil, viii. 1.

³ Conc. Nic. 2, Act. 4, quoted in Jewel, *Of Adoration of Images*, vol. iii. p. 258.

or that any confidence is to be placed in the images ;"¹ which at first sight looks like a movement towards better things, yet the explanation or palliation here offered is exactly the same as an enlightened heathen would have offered for their worship of images. We cannot imagine that Plato or Socrates really worshipped the idol for its own sake, or, to use the words of the Council, "quod credatur inesse aliqua in eis divinitas vel virtus, propter quam sint colendae." The like observation may be made *a fortiori* respecting Aaron when he made the golden calf, yet we know what his sin was in the sight of God, not only as regarded the consequences upon the people, but as respected his own share in the act of idolatry. The test in each case is not what philosophers or enlightened bishops or Aaron may think or intend when they bow down before an image, but what the ordinary mass of mankind must, considering the weakness of human nature, be led to believe and to practise. There can be no doubt, according to the ordinary state of things in the Church of Rome, that certain images are still, as they were before the Reformation, actually worshipped by the people as containing virtue or divinity in themselves, on the same principle as the image of Jupiter which fell down from heaven,² not merely as representing an absent saint (which if they worship the saint represented must be itself idolatry), but because that particular image is more holy than others;³ and the very best that can be said of a Church which sanctions under anathema such a practice is that it wilfully lays a stumbling-block in the way of its people, since the people actually do fall into the sin which the Council of Trent professes to deprecate.

This much having been premised, let us go on to show the doctrine of our Church. And first, you will observe her moderation. She does not lay stress upon simply having pictures in the Church, as though this must necessarily imply adoration ; but her protest is against the worship and adoration of images. In the same way Jewel, in the fourteenth Article of his Challenge, frames his attack in this way, "that images should be set up in the churches to the intent the people might worship them."⁴

¹ Conc. Trid. Sess. xxv., Decretum de Invocatione veneratione et reliquiis sanctorum et imaginibus sacris.

² Acts xix. 35.

One image being often esteemed more holy than another in the same church, and sometimes special esteem being rendered to a black image of the Virgin or other saint.

⁴ Jewel, vol. iii. p. 322.

It is "a vain thing,"—"res *futilis*." Now it is difficult to see what other opinion can be held of this worship of images than that which we form about the heathen worship, or the Jewish worship of their images. Both are equally "fond things," contrary to true reason or sound religion. What difference is there, in point of sense, between a poor ignorant Romanist falling down before a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary and worshipping it, as he does, with godly honour, and that of the idolaters described in Acts xix. 35, and Isaiah xlv. 10, etc.? You will observe that I am not speaking now of the practice being unwarrantable by Holy Scripture, or repugnant to it, but of the senseless nature of the worship. I am merely quoting Isaiah in illustration of this, the fondness or folly of which the Article speaks. Similar illustrations may be found in Psalm cxv. 5-8, cxxxv. 15-18, and in Wisdom xiii. and xiv.

And if it is "*futilis*," which requires no further proof, so is it "*inaniter conficta*," a vain invention of late times, neither sanctioned by Christ or His Apostles, nor handed down by the Church, but a pure invention, or corruption of truth and right practice. This has been shown at length by several of our most distinguished writers, as well as in the Homilies. The Homily "against peril of idolatry" is divided into three parts, and is full of instruction, as is also Bishop Jewel in his 14th Article. The result is that we have early evidence that no such practice prevailed for six centuries; that when it did come in, it was attributed by the Fathers who wrote against it to the imitation of the heathen; that setting up images in Churches was several times forbidden, as for instance by the Council of Elvira in 305, the thirty-sixth Canon of which declares "*Picturas in Ecclesiis poni nolumus, ne id, ad quod cultus noster, nostraeque adorationes referuntur, super parietibus pictum sit.*" A proclamation to the same effect was published throughout Christendom by Theodosius and Valens.¹ Epiphanius speaks of a certain veil which he had found and torn down in a church, as having on it the picture of Christ or some saint, "*contra auctoritatem Scripturarum.*"² Origen says, "Celsus the heretic objects to us that we have not altars or images."³ Clemens Alexandrinus says, "*Nobis aperte vetitum est artem fallacem exercere.*"⁴ St. Augustine declares that "*Tale simulacrum Deo nefas est in Christiano*

¹ Jewel, Art. xiv. vol. iii. p. 246.

² Epiphan. ad Johann. Hierosolym., in Jewel, Def. of. Apol. Part v. vol. vi. p. 31.

³ Orig. c. Cels. iv., in Jewel, Art. xiv. vol. iii. p. 246.

⁴ Clem. Alex. in Paraenet., in Jewel, l. c.

templo collocare ;”¹ and again, “*Idola quidem omni sensu carere quis dubitet ?*”² Even St. Gregory, in whose time the old severe opinions on this matter were being relaxed, says, “*Si quis imagines fovere voluerit, minime prohibe ; adorare vero imagines omnibus modis devita.*”³ Thus things went on ; if images were tacitly admitted to greater honour, as after the sixth century the Church declined from her purity, there was no sanction for it in the decrees of the Church, till the unhappy and execrable Second Council of Nicæa expressly sanctioned it, and thus the invention was complete, A.D. 787.

This, as you know, is connected with that remarkable part of the world’s history, the action of the Iconoclasts ; but on this I cannot now enlarge. To show what the character of this Council was, I will read a passage from Jewel. “*Read this Second Nicene Council,*” he says, “*throughout, if thou be able. Thou wilt say there was never any assembly of Christian bishops so vain, so peevish, so wicked, so blasphemous, so unworthy in all respects to be called a Council. The blessed bishops there agreed together with one consent, that images in churches are not only to be allowed, but also devoutly and reverently to be honoured, and that with the same honour that is due to God Himself.*”⁴

“*Is grounded upon no warranty of Scripture.*” Here again we must examine what is urged on the other side. The only colourable passage is Exod. xxv. 18 : “*Thou shalt make two cherubims of gold ;*” but these were emblems, never seen by the common people, and by the High Priest only once a year. These too were strictly commanded by God, and His command was to be unhesitatingly obeyed ; but it was the same God that said, “*Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image.*” Another attempt is made with reference to the Brazen Serpent ; but there is not the least sign that the Israelites worshipped it at first, and when they did, Hezekiah destroyed it, and called it Nehushtan, “*a piece of brass.*”⁵

“*Nay, rather repugnant to the Word of God.*” Hey has well observed that “*the Romanists betray a consciousness of something wrong with respect to the worship of images, by leaving the Second Commandment out of the Decalogue.*”⁶

¹ August. de Fide et Symbolo, c. 7.

² *Ib.* Epist. cii. 18.

³ Greg. Magn. Epist. ix. 9.

⁴ Jewel, Def. of Apol. Part. v. vol. vi. p. 28.

⁵ 2 Kings xviii. 4. See Jewel, 14th Art. of Challenge, vol. iii. pp. 226, 227.

⁶ Hey’s Lectures, vol. iv. p. 140, ed. 2.

See also Deut. xxvii. 15, which, like the other portions introduced into the Communion Service, is as applicable to Christian as to Jewish times; Psalm xcvii. 7, Deut. iv. 16, which gives us the ground of the prohibition; nor can we see any reason why the caution, "Lest ye corrupt yourselves," is not perpetually in force, Rom. i. 23, 1 St. John v. 21.¹

4. *Reliques*.—Here again it is the worship, not the possession, of them that is condemned. The Roman doctrine on the subject may be gathered from the same decree of the Council of Trent that authorized the adoration of images, which condemns all who deny that honour and veneration are to be paid to the relics of the saints.² It is traceable also in a hymn to the Cross preserved by Cardinal Mai: "O crux ave spes unica, hoc inventionis tempore, auge piis iustitiam, reisque dona veniam;"³ and in the stories of false miracles wrought by their means. Hey tells us that Calvin proposed that an inventory should be published of all Popish relics, than which proposal nothing could be more fair,⁴ nor more convincing, when we know how many relics, undoubted in the locality, exist of the same person, nay of the same limb, or of different parts of their bodies. So again the wood of the true cross could never have sufficed to furnish all the relics which claim to be a part of it.

"Vainly invented." The invention is earlier in this case, because more natural, than the other. If we put ourselves in the place of the early Christians, we may imagine the natural veneration which they would have for saints and martyrs; as a loyalist of the seventeenth century for any relics of Charles I. How soon any worship began we have no certain means of knowing. From the controversy between Vigilantius and St. Jerome, we may infer comparatively early. The forgery of such relics is early alluded to by St. Augustine: "Alii membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum, venditant."⁵

"Grounded upon no warranty of Scripture." The texts alleged are St. Matthew ix. 20-22, where however there is no mention of worshipping the hem of our Lord's garment; Acts xix. 12, where the miracles, though wrought at a distance, were the conscious work of a living Apostle; and

¹ On the subject of Image Worship, see Tyler's work under that title, Rivingtons, 1847; also his Tracts on the subject, "What is Romanism?" Nos. xvii.-xxvi. S.P.C.K.

² Conc. Trident. Sess. xxv. Decretum de Invocatione, etc. Sanctorum.

³ See Jewel, 14th Art. of Challenge, vol. iii. p. 233.

⁴ Hey's Lectures, iv. 142.

⁵ Aug. de opere Monach., c. 28.

Hebrews ix. 4, describing memorials laid up in the ark, not as objects of worship, but merely as records.

5. The Romish doctrine concerning the Invocation of Saints is a fond thing vainly invented. It should be observed that the Article refers more particularly to saints, yet the same may be said of the invocation of angels, which is equally practised in the Church of Rome; and further, that under the name of saints is included the worship of the blessed Virgin Mary.

Now, the origin of this corruption it is easy to conceive. Like many other errors, it arose from a perversion or exaggeration of a truth. The Invocation of Saints is a perversion, or rather a false deduction, from the Communion of Saints. That there is some unexplained invisible bond of unity between the Church on earth and that in heaven is, as we have seen, an article in our Creed. There is naturally a tendency in pious minds to think with interest and sympathy of these departed friends, of saints and martyrs gone to their rest, of all those of all ages who have departed this life in the faith of Christ. We of our Church thank God for such saints; and provided it be kept within due bounds, it would be hard to call this blameable. The next stage is apostrophes, rather passionate and poetical than founded on reason, to the spirits of departed friends; and if these again are intended as poetical, or as a mere vent to the feelings, the practice is hardly in itself deserving of censure; yet still to be avoided as the germ of evil, by all who know to what it may lead; but when such a practice is deliberately embodied in an act of worship, whether by an individual or by the Church, it becomes indeed a "fond thing," that is, contrary to the dictates of sound reason and a reasonable service.

But that we may know what it is we are contending against, let us ascertain here, as in the former parts of this Article, what the Romish doctrines and practice is. For remember that it is not mere formal theory that is at issue, but a practical question affecting the details of everyday life.

Now for the general statement of doctrines we refer to the twenty-fifth Session of the Council of Trent, as before. The decree sets forth that the Saints offer their prayers to God for men. Thus far we neither affirm nor deny; much must depend upon whether they speak of such prayer offered by the Saints as general or as particular; and though what follows, maintaining the piety of the practice, "*ut pro nobis etiam singulis orent,*" shows that they held the particular

prayer of the Saints for individuals upon earth, yet this is not our question. They may or they may not; we have no warrant either way; but our main business is with what follows: "*bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare, et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per Filium eius Iesum Christum, ad eorum orationes opem auxiliumque confugere:*" and this doctrine may be illustrated by the practice before and after the Reformation; but still more grossly before, because the Reformation did make the Romanists ashamed of some things, which were tacitly disused. I hold again in my hand Tyler's "What is Romanism?" which I wish it were in my power to read entire, but the difference between Mr. Tyler's plans and the line of argument presented to us by the form of the Article, as well as the length of his treatise, forbids it. Still the facts, as the basis of my present statement, I may take from him in my own order, as well as from the earlier English writers, who have given abundant evidence of the same facts. For the sake of distinctness his treatise is divided into two parts: 1. On the Invocation of Saints and Angels; 2. On the Worship of the Virgin. This last, you will observe, is not expressly stated in the Article, but there is no doubt that it is intended to be included in the general term; and as it is by far the most awful form in which this corruption has appeared, we cannot pass over it, though we will postpone it till after the general question.

Now the first question is, who are the Saints or holy ones whom the Church of Rome commands her subjects to invoke?

1. The Angels, not expressly named either in the Article or in the decree of the Council of Trent. 2. The blessed Virgin Mary. 3. The Apostles. 4. The ancient Saints, so called and considered by the general consent of the early Church, such as St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and St. Chrysostom. 5. Persons canonized by the Popes; that is, persons whom a mortal man's judgment officially declares to be in heaven, including some who are known to have been guilty of great crimes, and others whom we know to have been guilty of great blasphemies, to say the least. Instances have occurred, as at the canonization of Alphonsus Liguori, in which, the moment the act of canonization was complete, the official said to the new Saint, "*Ora pro nobis;*" he having, of course, been prayed for as a sinner in Purgatory.¹

Now the proper measure of the degree of peril and impiety to which this unscriptural and uncatholic doctrine

¹ Tyler's Invocation of Saints, p. 8.

of invocation naturally leads, is the effect which it had upon public worship, just previously to the Reformation, after which greater caution in keeping out of sight so great a stumbling-block to the maintenance of her position was necessary, and, except perhaps with respect to the Virgin Mary, was exercised. The height which the practice had previously reached, and the extent to which it had obscured and interfered with the belief in one Mediator between God and man, may be gathered from a service in honour of Thomas à Becket, preserved in a book called "*Primitive Worship*."¹ In this service the following passages occur: "O Christ Jesus, *by the wounds of Thomas*, loosen the sins which bind us." "O good Jesus, *by the merits of Thomas*, forgive us our debts." "Extend succour to us, O Thomas, guide those who stand; raise up those that fall. Correct our morals, actions, life; and guide us in the way of life." "Hail, Thomas, thou rod of justice." "Hail, glorious guardian of the flock. Save those who rejoice in thy glory." "To Thomas all things are obedient, plagues, diseases, deaths, and devils; fire, air, land, and sea."²

As for the present worship of Saints in the Church of Rome, Mr. Tyler brings forward ample instances from the authoritative Breviary of the Roman Church,³ from which the following examples may suffice, arranged as by him under four heads.

(1.) Prayer is offered to Almighty God through the mediation and intercession of the Saints; and He is supplicated to grant to the worshippers the intercession of particular Saints by name. So in A; 545,551. "We beseech Thee, Almighty God, that he whose feast we are about to celebrate, may implore Thy aid for us, that he may be for us a perpetual intercessor."⁴

(2.) Addresses are offered to the Saints imploring them to pray for the worshippers. This may be exemplified from every part of the ordinary worship of the Church of Rome, and would not be questioned by any Roman Catholic.

(3.) Prayers are offered to Saints imploring them to hear and as of themselves to grant. So H. 497; "O good shepherd, merciful Peter, accept the prayers of us who supplicate, and loose the bonds of our sins by the power committed

¹ This book, formerly on the list of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is largely quoted by Tyler.

² Tyler, *Invocation of Saints*, pp. 8-15.

³ The quotations are taken from the Norwich edition of 1830, in four volumes: A for autumn; Æ for summer; H for winter; V for spring.

⁴ Tyler, *Invocation of Saints*, p. 16.

unto thee, by which thou shuttest heaven against all by a word, and openest it.”¹ Here St. Peter is entreated to grant the prayer, and to loose the suppliants from the bonds of sin, without any allusion to his doing so through intercession.

(4.) Praise is ascribed to the Saints, such as Christians should offer only to the one Supreme God. So V. 486: “O Joseph, the glory of those in heaven, and the sure hope of our life, and the safeguard of the world, benignly accept the praises which we joyfully sing to thee.”²

Now to recur to the proof of the Article.

“The invocation of Saints is a vain thing.” It would seem impossible that any sound mind, which has learnt the first principles of the Christian faith, could come to any other conclusion. The bare reading of these passages is surely enough to stamp their foolishness.

We may, however, add one or two arguments directly to this point. This practice, in fact, invests the Saints with the attribute of omnipresence, and so makes them Gods. In order to escape from this conclusion, which is a *reductio ad absurdum*, Romish writers have been obliged to invent two or three gratuitous theories, from which believers have to make their choice. The first opinion is that angels carry up the prayers to the Saints, and bring down the answers to blessings. A second view is, that angels and glorified spirits are endowed with such swiftness of motion, that they can in a way be present, and hear different prayers uttered in different places at the same moment of time. These two views Bellarmine rejects as implying proper ubiquity. A third is, that the Saints, at the very commencement of their blessedness, have imparted to them by God a knowledge of all the prayers that will be addressed to them, together with all that may happen to themselves; so that when afterwards the prayer is uttered, they, though they do not hear it, yet know it and act upon it. The last is not that the Saints see beforehand our prayers from the beginning of their own blessedness, but that God reveals when we utter them. The last two Cardinal Bellarmine approves! but a theory supported by such futile arguments, and by them alone, cannot but be fond itself.

“Vainly invented.” There is not a symptom of this invention before the middle of the fourth century. For the detailed proof of this I must refer you to Mr. Tyler’s work; he shows negatively that the records of the Ancient Church, including liturgies, contain no allusion to such Invocation, even where it might have been expected, if such a doctrine

¹ Tyler, Invocation of Saints, p. 21.

² *Ibid.* p. 24.

and practice had existed : and positively, that the principles habitually asserted by the ancient writers are inconsistent with such doctrine and practice. Mr. Tyler's induction is a large one, embracing (1.) Apostolic Fathers, St. Barnabas, Hermas, St. Clement, St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, with the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna on his martyrdom. All these are undoubtedly before the Council of Nice, and probably before 170. (2.) Justin Martyr, 150 ; Irenaeus, 180 ; Clemens Alex., 180 ; Tertullian, 180 ; Origen, 230 ; Cyprian, 258 ; Lactantius, 300 ; Eusebius, 314 ; the Apostolic Canons, which, though spurious, are confessedly very early ; and Athanasius, 350.

"Grounded upon no warranty of Scripture." Throughout the Old Testament no prayer to angel or beatified spirit occurs. Contrast this with the Invocation of Abel and Abraham in the Litany of the Saints in the Church of Rome ; as well as the only two instances of warranty from the Old Testament brought by Romanists themselves : one, that of Abraham bowing down to the heavenly visitant in Gen. xviii. 2 ; but this, according to the best interpretations, was the Son of God Himself ; the other in Gen. xlviii. 16, when Jacob prayed over the sons of Joseph, "The angel, which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads ;" but this was the Angel of the Covenant, that is, the Word Himself. Nowhere else in the Old Testament is there a shadow of the doctrine, even where, if it had been lawful, it must have been found. For instance, if ever there was a case where Invocation might have been expected according to the Romish theory, it is that of Moses, who, whilst living, was in a certain sense a mediator, and is so called in Holy Scripture :¹ who had so often interceded for his sinful people and been heard ; who was removed from men's sight in no ordinary way ; and yet where do we read, O Moses, pray for us ? With respect to the New Testament, most of the passages adduced are such that it seems impossible by any ingenuity to twist them into a warranty of Scripture. What, for instance, is the value, as proof of this Invocation, of such texts as the following ?

St. Luke xvi. 9, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations."

Acts v. 15, "That at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them."

Acts vii. 60, Stephen "fell asleep."

2 Pet. i. 15, "I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance."

¹ Gal. iii. 19 ; cp. Deut. v. 5.

Whence, they say, it is clear that St. Peter would care for them after his death, and, *therefore*, that it would be lawful for them to pray to him.

Rev. v. 8, "And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints." This is doubtless a mystery, but what warranty is there here for our falling down before the four and twenty elders and invoking them?

Rev. vi. 10, 11, The souls "under the altar" "cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" "And it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled." This passage shows only that there is some mystical connexion between the departed spirits of the martyrs and the Church militant on earth; and that in general, not as to particular individuals.

2 Cor. i. 11, "Ye also helping together by prayer for us," etc.; but prayer to whom? 1 Thess. v. 25, "Brethren, pray for us;" but to whom? 1 Tim. ii. 1, "I exhort that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men;" but prayers to whom? Again, St. James v. 16, "Pray one for another;" but pray to whom? These texts are a warranty for the value of mutual intercession among living men in the Church militant, but what warranty do they give for the Invocation of saints or angels? even if the Church of Rome were to confine herself, as she does not, to asking for this intercession. The utmost that can logically be made of such injunctions to intercession is to infer from analogy, that as men pray for each other on earth, so saints in heaven may possibly pray for each other likewise. This may be so, but it does not forward the Romish doctrine, that men on earth are permitted and encouraged to pray for the intercession of those in heaven; and this we know is the least part of the great mystery of iniquity which this doctrine actually involves.

"Nay, rather repugnant to the Word of God." Not only is there no warranty of Scripture for it, but the Word of God is against it—it is repugnant to the Word of God. For, first, it tends to obscure the great doctrine of the mediation of Christ alone; it places at the least, even in theory, inter-mediation, or subordinate mediation between the worshipper and Christ, in the stead of his coming to the Father (as no one can come otherwise) through Christ; and in practice,

with the poor ignorant Romish peasant, it actually displaces the only Mediator, and substitutes a creature-mediator in His place. If there is any one truth more certain than another it is this, that we have all access to the Father by the Spirit through Christ;¹ that "there is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus;"² that "we have not an High Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities."³ By virtue of His relations to us in His quality of perfect manhood, He may be, and therefore must be, directly approached by us as Mediator between us and the Father, with whom, by virtue of His perfect Godhead, He is one. The tendency of the Romish doctrine is to keep out of sight this accessibility, to represent Christ as too distant, too holy, too divine, for mortal man to approach Him without the aid of some creatures who shall have more in common with humanity, or lie more within the sphere of his sympathies and his wants. Hence the whole doctrine of Patron Saints; such a saint being supposed to be attached by certain ties of origin or of favour to such a particular locality, or to such a particular person or family, in a manner which involuntarily reminds us of the patron gods of certain cities according to Homer's mythology; and it comes practically to the belief that the blessing which would be denied if asked in the name of Christ alone, may be granted by the mediation of the Patron Saint. In like manner the blessed Virgin Mary is entreated to use her influence over her Son.

Again, to show still further how repugnant the doctrine is to Holy Scripture: we know that the invocation of saints is not confined to asking their intercession, though this is bad enough; but I have given you sufficient proofs, which might be multiplied indefinitely, that it includes prayers to saints, imploring them to hear, and as of themselves to grant, the prayers of the faithful on earth, and to release them from the bands of sin without any allusion to the intercession of those saints; and what is this but actually to put them in the place of God? They are in this point of view not only mediators, but themselves the object of worship. I do not say that pious Roman Catholics well informed do not in such addresses tacitly refer to God as the fountain of all good, but what becomes of the poor ignorant multitude? At one time they worship God, at another the blessed Virgin Marys of different localities, at another, St. Peter; and it cannot but be that such worship must tend to confound in their minds the distinction between the Creator and the creature; they know

¹ Eph. ii. 18.² 1 Tim. ii. 5.³ Heb. iv. 15.

nothing and understand nothing of the vain and unscriptural distinctions between one kind of worship and another, between *λατρεία* to God, *δουλεία* to the saints, and *ὑπερδουλεία* to the blessed Virgin.¹ To them worship is worship; so that, in fact, under cover of this intermediate worship of the saints, a virtual substitute for a modified Polytheism, under the name of Christianity, is practically introduced, and we know how congenial Polytheism is to the natural man. And are not all these frightful consequences repugnant to the Word of God? Col. ii. 18 seems almost intended to meet the error; and it is practically rebuked in Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8, 9. It is mere waste of time to allege more texts, and I will conclude with 1 Tim. ii. 5: "There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus;" a passage thus shown to be repugnant to the two fundamental corruptions involved in the Invocation of saints.

Before we quit this painful subject, it appears right, as far as time will allow, to say a few more words upon that which is virtually included in this Article, the worship of the blessed Virgin Mary. To do justice to this subject several lectures would hardly suffice. I must refer you to Tyler, as a book which should be universally read. I will give you a few specimens; but let me first say that no true member of the Church of England ever speaks of the blessed Virgin except with great reverence, respect, and love; indeed, it is because we respect and love her that we protest against a system which is really derogatory to her. "The practical doctrine of the Church of Rome," says Mr. Tyler, "is this, that as the Virgin Mary surpasses inestimably all saints and angels, cherubim and seraphim, and all the powers of heaven, in authority and purity and dignity, so a worship ought to be addressed to her inestimably higher and more sacred than the worship paid to them."² This higher worship they call by the invented word *ὑπερδουλεία*, a service above other *δούλεια*i or services to the saints. Mr. Tyler then goes on to show the different grades of this worship, as in the case of the Invocation of other saints. From his illustrations the following may be selected:—

1. Prayers are made to God in the name of the Virgin, pleading her merits, and offered through her mediation, as in

¹ Δουλεύω is itself in the New Testament applied to the worship of God. See Acts xx. 19; Rom. xiv. 18, xvi. 18; Col. iii. 24; 1 Thess. i. 9; and to that of false gods, Gal. iv. 8. But above all compare 1 Thess. i. 9 with Heb. ix. 14, in which passages δουλεύω and λατρεύω are used indifferently as applicable to God.

² Tyler's What is Romanism? No. viii. p. 5.

the Breviary, V. 155: "We beseech thee, O Lord, let the glorious intercession of the blessed and glorious ever Virgin Mary protect us and bring us to life eternal."¹

2. Prayers are offered to the Virgin, entreating her intercession. These occur perpetually, but there is a striking instance in *Æ.* 229: "Holy Mother of God, mirror of justice, cause of our joy, Mystical Rose, Tower of David, Tower of Ivory, House of Gold, Ark of the Covenant, Gate of Heaven, Refuge of Sinners, Queen of Angels, Queen of all Saints, etc. etc., pray for us."²

3. Prayers are addressed to her for benefits as her own gifts, both spiritual and temporal. Such is that in V. 153: "Hail, star of the sea, and kind Mother of God, and ever Virgin, happy gate of heaven . . . *Show that thou art a Mother.* Let Him who endured for thee to be thy Son, through thee receive our prayers. O excellent Virgin, meek among all, do thou make us meek and chaste, freed from fault; make our life pure; prepare for us a safe journey, that, beholding Jesus, we may always rejoice together."³ And the full meaning of the phrase, "Show that thou art a Mother," may be seen from "Bonaventura's broad and shocking summons to the Virgin to put forth her full maternal authority, and to command the Lord of life, '*By the right of a Mother, command thy Son,*' and that of Damiani, '*Not only asking but commanding; a Mistress not a handmaid.*'"⁴

4. Divine praises are ascribed to her; as in *Æ.* 598 "The Holy Mother of God is exalted above the choir of angels to the heavenly realms. The gates of Paradise are opened to us by thee, who, glorious this day, triumphest with the angels." "Rejoice, O Virgin Mary, thou alone hast destroyed all heresies in the whole world. Deem me worthy to praise thee, hallowed Virgin: give me strength against thy enemies."⁵

I cannot conclude this Article without calling your attention to the practice of the Church of England as contrasted with the Church of Rome in this matter.

With respect to angels she recognises the ministration of angels as by God's appointment, as in the Collect for the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels; but she never invokes their intercession. The Song of the Three Children is no exception to this, as we there say no more to the angels or

¹ Tyler's *What is Romanism?* No. viii. p. 8. ² *Ibid.* p. 9. ³ *Ibid.* p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 12. Bonaventura was a Franciscan, born in 1221, who died in 1274. He was made a Cardinal Bishop by Gregory x., and was canonized in 1482 by Sixtus iv. Pietro Damiani was also a Cardinal Bishop.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 15. See also *What is Romanism?* Nos. ix. and x.

to the spirits and souls^a of the righteous than we do to the sun and moon or stars, to invoke which would be palpable idolatry, or than we do to the abstractions summer and winter: "Bless ye the Lord, praise Him, and magnify Him for ever." With respect to saints, she acknowledges that "with God do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord;" and in all the collects for Saints' Days he sets them forth as ensamples, and as instruments of God's glory; but the prayer on those days, as on all others, is in the alone name and alone mediation of our blessed Lord.

With respect to the blessed Virgin, all the services which bear any reference to her are invariably turned into occasions of exalting and glorifying, not her but her son. So what is commonly called "The Purification of St. Mary the Virgin," is first called "The Presentation of Christ in the Temple," and to this the Collect itself corresponds. Similarly in the Collect for "the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary," her very name does not occur. Yet we honour her memory in our daily services by the use of the Magnificat.

ARTICLE XXIII.

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De Ministrando in Ecclesia.

Of Ministering in the Congregation.

NON licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice praedicandi, aut administrandi Sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad haec obeunda legitime vocatus et missus. Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros, atque mittendi in vineam Domini, publice concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint, et adsciti in hoc opus.

IT is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

THERE is no difference in the different editions of this Article, except that before 1571 the title ran "Nemo in Ecclesia ministret nisi vocatus." It is noticeable that "Ecclesia" is rendered "Congregation," and that the word "chosen" is less precise than the Latin "cooptati," which means "elected into the same order as the electors." Of this we shall see the force as we go on.

Now in what I am about to say on this Article, let it be distinctly understood that I mean no reflection upon those foreign Protestant Churches which enjoy a less perfect constitution ecclesiastical than we do. There can be no doubt that as we owe the blessings of our Church to God's direct providence and grace, so the defects of those Churches, in point of order and government, were providentially disposed. We have no cause for boasting over them. In the beginning and progress of their Reformation, it was circumstantially impossible for them to continue the line of succession by Bishops,—there were historical difficulties in their way; and it is certain that their chief leaders earnestly desired at that time, whatever may have been the case since with their descendants, to retain the order and administration of bishops; but as the bishops generally remained on the side of Rome,

and would listen to no overtures for the removal of abuses and corruptions, they were compelled to choose between remaining in thralldom to all those abuses, many of them extremely dangerous, in order to preserve episcopacy, or to dispense with bishops, as they thought and hoped only for a time, in order to purify themselves from the idolatry and corruption in which Rome was involved. It should not be forgotten also, that although the episcopal succession was broken off, yet a succession from the Apostles through the presbyters was continued. They, especially the Lutherans, had no thought of beginning a new Church, or of cutting themselves off from the external continuity of the Apostolical Church. They would still tell you that their ministers do succeed the Apostles; and it must be borne in mind that Luther and many of his colleagues were canonically ordained priests or presbyters in the Church of Rome. In short, these Reformed Churches in Germany seem to come under the case mentioned by Hooker, as one of the extraordinary cases, "where the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep: when the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can have a bishop to ordain."¹ With us, on the contrary, the whole history of the purification of religion was a preparation for the unbroken continuance of the Apostolical orders. Emancipation from the spiritual and temporal tyranny of the Bishop of Rome was perfectly consistent with the preservation of that authority which the Bishops had inherited from the Apostles. The internal purification of the Church was coincident with the continuance of the same external government which had never been broken since the time of the Apostles. A sufficient number of canonically ordained and consecrated bishops embraced the purer doctrines and worship of the Reformed Church, to enable them to continue the canonical ordination and consecration of their successors, and that too just at the time when the bitterness of the Marian persecutions seemed likely to extinguish the last spark of truth. Of all the providential arrangements to which we owe our present blessing, the death of Mary was the most well-timed; for had she lived a little longer, that last remnant of the Reformed bishops who consecrated Archbishop Parker would have been exterminated, and the Papists could then have justly charged us with departure from the prescriptive succession of bishops, which had lasted now for fifteen

¹ Hooker, Eccl. Pol. vii. 14, sect. 11.

centuries absolutely unbroken. I shall not enter further into the history of the leading causes which induced and enabled our Reformers to write the present Article, and to continue that form of ordering in all its essential particulars, which we now use in conformity with the practice of the primitive Church ; but we will proceed at once to the Article.

I was led to these observations by the obvious bearing which, whether we intend it or not, this question has on an important distinctive feature of foreign Protestant Churches. With respect to those who, to their own great loss, as well as to the great injury of true religion and unity, have departed from the Church of England, the case is widely different ; the originators of these acts of schism are without excuse, but their modern representatives are rather to be pitied, as having been brought up under a false system with respect to the ministry, without any original fault of their own ; and I am anxious to state that the observations which a sense of truth will compel me to utter on this subject, though they must unavoidably apply to modern Dissenters, persevering in proved error, as well as to those who first constituted a new beginning of ministers, yet are not spoken in bitterness ; candidly indeed, and unreservedly and without compromise, as is fitting for one who has promised to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's word ; yet charitably in the true sense of the term, for true charity consists not in concealing or slurring over the truth even for the sake of external peace, but in illustrating and enforcing the truth in a spirit of meekness and fear.

And now recurring to the text of the Article, it will be my endeavour in this Lecture—(1.) To ascertain its true scope and meaning ; (2.) To confirm its teaching from Holy Scripture, and from primitive antiquity ; and (3.) To illustrate its truth by the actual constitution and conduct of the Church of England in this respect ; for there must of course be a harmony between what our Reformers did and what they said ; so that if their language should appear to be ambiguous, the doubt may be removed by referring to their undoubted acts.

Now for the explanation of the terms of the Article.

The title " Ministering " includes, according to the Article, Preaching, and Baptizing, and administering the Holy Communion ; but it meant even then more than this, as is proved by the Book of Common Prayer, viz., conducting the public prayers, pronouncing absolution, marrying and burying, both

of which were then confined to the clergy. In a word, the term includes the whole of the exclusively clerical and pastoral offices.

"It is not lawful"—"*Non licet.*" This, as we shall presently see, means not lawful by God's Word, nor according to the practice of the best ages of the Church. At the time when the Article was written it was also not consistent with the municipal law.

"Any man,"—whatever his station, his piety, his gifts and qualifications, humanly speaking, for the office.

"To take upon him,"—either to assume to himself, of his own will and appointment, or to take from other unqualified persons, "the office."

"Public preaching;" this term is added, as well as "in the congregation," in order not to interfere with private religious instruction in a family; private conferences on religious subjects between friends; or family devotion.

"In the congregation;" *i.e.* wherever the body of Christians, great or small, meet together in their capacity of a congregation or church. In the Latin, twice "*in ecclesia.*"

"Lawfully" will be defined presently.

Now to explain the words "called," "sent," "chosen," "*cooptati*:" all terms relating to the same practice of ordaining under different aspects; all implying to give a commission of some sort. There are two possible meanings to the word "called," in a theological sense, the one referring to the internal call, the other to the external. The term here is understood to apply to the latter, and the same meaning belongs to the words in the Ordination Services: "Do you believe that you are truly called according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due order of this realm, to the ministry of the Church?" as is evident by comparing that question with the preceding one: "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration?" The word "called," or "invited," need not mean an express individual invitation to enter the Christian ministry; but such a general calling as is implied in the known willingness of a bishop to fill up vacancies in his diocese with competent persons; and after satisfying himself as to fitness, his calling an individual to proceed in his purpose of taking upon him the office of a minister.

"Sent" is a word so appropriated, in a theological sense, to the office of the Christian ministry, that the word *ἀπόστολος* means those pre-eminently sent by our Lord for that office, even as our Lord was sent by the Father (St. John xx. 21).

So He bids them "Pray the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into His harvest."

"Chosen"—"*cooptati*," not *electi* (an instance of the value of the Latin version as explaining the English one). "Coop-tari" strictly means to choose into the body of which you are yourself a member, in order to complete the number by filling up vacancies. Thus "*cooptare tribunos*" is used in Liv. iii. 65. It means here then "those whom the ordainers shall elect into the clerical body to which they themselves belong."

"By men"—"*per homines*." There is a stress on these words, as showing that the instrumentality of men is ordinarily necessary, instead of the fanatical notion of the Quakers and other sects, that the commission of the ministry is ordinarily derived by immediate inspiration of God.

"By men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation"—"*quibus potestas publice commissa est in ecclesia*." Given then by whom? Not by the people, nor by the Church (the expression is *in ecclesia*); but by God Himself, by the process hereafter to be described. Of course the municipal authority of the State allowing the open exercise of the power of ordaining may be included in these words, "*publice commissa est*," but the proper meaning is the divine authority to ordain.

Now this explanation of the terms of the argument will enable us to see clearly the state of the argument; and upon a review of them, of the history of the Church, and of what the Reformers of our Church actually did, there seems no reason for doubting that the persons whom they contemplated, as the only ordinary authorized ordainers, were the order of bishops regularly and canonically succeeding each other, and inheriting this power of ordaining from the Apostles themselves. They may have worded their convictions less definitely and clearly than they might have done, out of consideration for the less fortunate Protestant Churches in Germany, but their own invariable practice gives the clearest indication of their own real meaning.

And first, they did clearly mean that the ordaining power was vested at all events in some part of the clerical body themselves:¹ this the German clergy would have been the first to recognise, and they always acted upon it. The spectacle which the later corruptions of Protestantism have introduced, of the ministry receiving the commission to

¹ See Articles xxxvi. and xxxvi.

preach and administer the Sacraments from lay hands,¹ would have been as utterly unlawful in their eyes, as for any one to take that office upon himself without some external call, that is, for any one to lay hands upon himself. The self-origination of a ministry or the new beginning of a succession never entered their minds. The ordainers, whoever they were, were authorized "*cooptare*;" therefore those who ordained clergy must themselves be in the number of those who were already ordained.

Further, the part of the clergy who were, in the view of our Reformers, the only ordinary channel of Orders, were the bishops alone. That they are right in this view it will be my object to prove hereafter. I am now only considering what they intended. And that this, right or wrong, was their view, must be evident, when we consider that up to within thirty years of the time when they were compiling the Articles, there never had been for 1500 years any other mode of ordination in the Church (the one or two apparent exceptions in all that long time being obscure heretics and schismatics). Of course, then, this fact, added to the further fact of the evidence of Holy Scripture, amongst men who confessedly revered Christian antiquity in subordination to Scripture, must have had its weight; indeed, they could only see one exception within the thirty years, and that exception they hoped would be only temporary; *i.e.* the involuntary suspension of episcopal ordination on the Continent. In confirmation of this we may refer to Article xxxvi., which was intended for another purpose, but incidentally reflects light upon the present Article. For let us look at the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, there authorized. Not only is the whole function primarily committed to the ordaining bishop, or the consecrating bishops, but the Preface speaks to the same effect, giving us the fact and the reason for it. Add to this the extreme care with which Archbishop Parker's consecration was conducted: and we have a complete commentary upon the Reformers' words in their acts. They considered the bishops to be those who have public authority given unto them (by Christ) in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's Vineyard.

Such having been the view of the English Reformers, and such the scope and meaning of Article xxiii., it re-

¹ We are speaking now of the commission, not of the share which the laity may and do have, as patrons or otherwise, in choosing the person to be presented for ordination to the bishop.

mains that we consider how far they were justified in this view.

Now, although the question of episcopal ordination, which is the proper subject of this Article, is in itself separable from the question of a threefold ministry, which more properly belongs to Article xxxvi., yet there is so much connexion between them, that in proving the one you can hardly avoid proving the other.

As, however, the real object which we have in view is the establishment of that function of the episcopal office in which the bishop differs from the priest, we ought to confine ourselves as far as possible to this, omitting all direct consideration of the other functions of the episcopal office, such as government and jurisdiction ecclesiastical, or the power exclusively belonging to their order of administering the rite of Confirmation; and of course also omitting *a fortiori* the relations in which this office stands to the State. All considerations of this nature are excluded from our present consideration, not because there is in my mind any doubt as to the tenableness of the Church of England's view respecting those parts of the subject, but because they do not properly come under the scope of Article xxiii. Our only question is where the right resides of sending labourers into the Lord's Vineyard.

The mention of the word "right" leads me to premise one other observation. It has been usual to talk of Episcopacy by "Divine Right," "*ex iure divino*." Perhaps nothing in the controversy between the Presbyterians and ourselves has occasioned more confusion as well as more offence than this phrase. Those who know the history of Charles I. are aware of the influence which this expression had upon his troubles. But the confusion has arisen mainly from the ambiguous meaning of the term "Divine Right,"—the English divines using it in one sense, their opponents in the other. Bishop Sanderson, with his usual logical acuteness, has pointed out in what the true distinction between the two meanings really consists. "Sometimes, and primarily," he says, "it importeth a Divine Precept; when it appeareth by some clear, express, and peremptory command of God's Word, to be the will of God that the thing so commanded should be perpetually and universally observed, of which sort, setting aside the Articles of the Creed and the Moral Duties, there are, I take it, very few things under the New Testament. The Preaching of the Gospel and Administration of the Sacraments are two, which when I have named, I think I have named all." In a secondary and more extended signification of the term he says things are said to be

of Divine Right "which, having no express command in the Word, yet are found to have authority and warrant from the institution, example, and approbation either of Christ Himself or His Apostles, and have, in regard of the importance and usefulness of the things themselves, been held, by the consentient judgment of all the Churches of Christ in the primitive and succeeding ages, needful to be continued."¹ Among these latter he reckons the observation of the Lord's Day, as distinguished from the Jewish Sabbath, the ordering of the Keys, and the distinction between Presbyters and Deacons.

Now although episcopal ordination is capable of being maintained as of Divine right in the first and stricter sense of the term, and as such may be more easily defended than confuted, yet many of our best divines have been contented with showing that it is of Divine right in the second sense, *i.e. ex Apostolica designatione*. It is sufficient to justify the Church of England in her constitution to show that the episcopal functions generally, including this of exclusive power of ordination, were consistent with God's Word, of Apostolical institution, exercised by the Apostles themselves, and by other persons in their times, appointed and enabled thereunto by them, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by virtue of the commission they had received from Him.

Now, in arranging the proof of our Article, it will contribute to clearness of thought if we consider the various opinions which prevail respecting the method of sending new labourers into the Lord's Vineyard, and contrast them one with the other. There are then three distinct opinions, and, strictly speaking, no more: 1. The Episcopalian; 2. The Presbyterian; 3. The Congregationalist view. The first is held, as we have seen, by our Church and its derivatives in America and the Colonies, by the Episcopalian Church in Scotland, and by other branches of the Western Church, together with the whole Eastern Church. The second prevails in those religious communities which could not obtain Reformed Bishops, and it attributes to the inferior or second order of the clergy the same power to confer orders as that which belongs to Bishops; and is held by the Lutherans in Germany and Denmark; by the Calvinists in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland; by the Presbyterians in England,

¹ Slightly abridged from Bishop Sanderson's *Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal Power*, sec. iv. (vol. v. p. 151 of Jacobson's edition), from which place the succeeding paragraph is also substantially borrowed.

Scotland, Ireland, and North America; and by the Wesleyan Methodists. These all claim to have received their orders from some episcopally ordained Presbyters. Both these then claim in a different way a personal succession from the Apostles. The third is of still later date than the Presbyterian system, and maintains that there is no such thing at all as personal succession, but that any collection of private Christians has sufficient power in itself to ordain its own ministry, and that such ministers, so appointed, are efficiently ordained for all the offices of the Christian ministry. This view is held by Independents or Congregationalists, and by Baptists in Holland and elsewhere. There is a fourth class, but so utterly destitute of all foundation in reason, Scripture, or antiquity, that it would be waste of time to do more than allude to it. This is the view held by Quakers, Primitive Methodists, and some other bodies, which require no external appointment whatever.

Now, to begin with the Congregationalists. If they are right, the Episcopalians and Presbyterians are both equally wrong in maintaining the necessity of a succession. In order to test this we must go through the Bible to see what support there is for the Independent system there. Now wherever any mention is made of anything of the sort it is with marks of disapprobation, as in the case of the man of Mount Ephraim, who, being a private individual, "consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest."¹ This was at a time when every one did that which was right in his own eyes, not in the eyes of God, who had appointed a special priesthood. Korah, a Levite, not of Aaron's family, though ministering *iure divino*, had this rebuke, "Seek you the priesthood also?"² which, by the way, might be an answer to the Presbyterians; while as to laity, Dathan and Abiram, as laymen of the tribe of Reuben, made use of the very plea used by the modern Congregationalists: "Ye take too much upon you," you, that is, that are God's appointed priests, "seeing all the congregation are holy, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?"³

Again, Jeroboam not only set up calves in Bethel and Dan, but "made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi."⁴ The case of Apollos also, who taught before he had received Christian baptism, shows that this was only irregular, inasmuch as he subsequently,

¹ Judges xvii. 5, 6.

² Numbers xvi. 9, 10.

³ Numbers xvi. 3.

⁴ 1 Kings xii. 31.

through the instrumentality of Aquila and Priscilla, became a fellow-worker with the apostles.¹

These cases are sufficient for our purpose, and the same result would follow from a full examination of all the texts alleged on their side, *i.e.* that there is no scriptural foundation whatever for the Congregational notion, but the direct contrary,—a severe rebuke against those who would “heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears.”² Again, such texts as these are applicable: “How shall they teach, except they be sent?”³ “No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.”⁴ Now Aaron, we know, received an external call from one who had received express authority to send him. Again, such expressions as stewards, ambassadors, husbandmen, pastors, all imply not a sending by the servants, but by the Lord of the steward; not by the people to whom an ambassador is sent, but by the king who sends him; not by the harvest, but by the lord of the harvest; not by the flock, but by the chief pastor of the flock. As for Christian antiquity, there is from first to last not the least shadow of testimony for Congregationalism, nor did it ever, so far as we know, assume a definite shape till the last year of Queen Elizabeth, when Brown first established that model.

The contest, therefore, is now narrowed, and lies between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, as defined above. And it should be observed that we do not deny that the presbyters of the Church should concur with the bishop in any given ordination of priests; rather, we constantly in practice affirm it; what we deny is, that any presbyter or number of presbyters is empowered to ordain without the bishop. It is of course impossible to give in detail all the arguments and proofs which enter into this question within the compass of a Lecture like this; I must content myself with giving you the result.

And first, there is *prima facie* proof, amounting to moral certainty, in favour of Episcopacy, in the simple fact that, with one or two obscure and very doubtful exceptions, the whole stream of history from the Apostles' times for fifteen centuries mentions this one mode of ordination by bishops, and this alone, in every variety of form, directly and indirectly affirming or implying, or taking it for granted as a fact incontrovertible. And not only in history properly so called, but in such history as may be gathered from sermons, liturgies,

¹ Acts xviii. 24-28.

² 2 Tim. iv. 3.

³ Rom. x. 15.

⁴ Heb. v. 4.

canons of Councils, and the like, there is not the smallest hint of any other kind of ordination; the division of the clergy is uniformly threefold, at least with what are called the major orders; one point of distinction between the three orders being universally the authority given exclusively to the bishops to send new labourers into the vineyard. Against this continuous stream of testimony the Presbyterians can only allege one or two apparent, though by no means real, cases of ordination without the bishop. Indeed, their own witnesses have been turned against themselves. For instances, one of their chief authors, and indeed the only one of any real weight, is St. Jerome, who is known to have been no great friend to the Episcopal order; but whatever may be his testimony in other points of difference, he expressly admits the exclusive right of ordination as vested in the bishops: "*Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, Episcopus quod Presbyter non faciat?*"¹ Out of the whole evidence respecting primitive usage and principle, I must select one or two as specimens. St. Irenæus (A.D. 180) says, "*Habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores etiam ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent apostoli, quae seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes.*"² Again, we have the case of Ischyra, whose orders were questioned in a Synod at Alexandria (A.D. 339), as having been received from Colluthus, who, it turned out, was only a presbyter at the time; whereupon the Council decreed that all on whom he had laid hands should be regarded as mere laymen.³ We may also mention Aërius, presbyter of Sebaste (A.D. 360), who was universally considered as a heretic for maintaining, amongst other errors, that there was no difference between a bishop and a presbyter.⁴ So plain, indeed, is this evidence, that the advocates for the Presbyterian form themselves confess that Episcopal ordination and government was established very shortly after the Apostles' times, at the very outside within forty years after St. John's death. Chillingworth has shown conclusively that if so it was already

¹ Jerome, *Epist. ad Evangel.*, vol. iv. part 2, p. 803, ed. Bened.

² Iren. c. *Haeres.* iii. 3.

³ See Athanas. *ad Imp. Constant. Apol.* ii.

⁴ See Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* vii. ix. 1.

established by the Apostles themselves, for if Presbyterian ordination had been ever established, it is incredible that so great a change as that from Presbyterian to Episcopal ordination could have taken place between the Apostles' times and the epoch "presently after," when it is confessed that Episcopacy prevailed.¹

And this consent of all antiquity in this point, thus traced up to the Apostles, must be conclusive, even if there were no mention at all throughout Scripture of the way in which the pastoral office should be perpetuated; and nothing but some express testimony of Scripture against Episcopal ordination, or something inconsistent with it, would suffice against it: but this is not pretended, the utmost support which the Bible affords to the Presbyterian scheme being some few obscure passages, where the name of presbyter and bishop seem to be used as equivalent terms; and that at a time when, from the continuance of the apostolic office, the nature of things did not seem to require so accurate a demarcation between the two offices as became necessary after the removal of the Apostles. Throughout it must be remembered that we are contending not for the name but for the thing; that there is one of these orders exclusively entitled to confer orders, and if this meaning is attached to the word, the word "Superintendent" would be as good as "Bishop." Justin Martyr calls them Presidents.

On the other hand, the Scriptural grounds of Episcopacy are as clear as the nature of things would have led us to anticipate; and if it is not so full as some might expect, this very defectiveness of express passages may be some evidence that the practice was so thoroughly understood by the immediate successors of the Apostles, that it was the less necessary to give special written instructions.

For take first St. Matt. xxviii. 20, "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world,"—with the Apostles, yet not with them in their own persons; for, first, the Apostles could hardly, even in their lifetime, be able to discharge all their duties personally, and secondly, they personally passed away; but with their delegates and representatives in the visible Church. Again, take St. John xx. 21, "As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." "What was the function which our departing Saviour was exercising at the very moment of uttering the words? Being about to go up

Chillingworth's Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy Vindicated, in vol. ii. p. 531, ed. 1820.

into heaven He was delegating His authority to His successors, mortal men, who would likewise one day depart out of the world. . . . They to whom He said these words were to do as He was doing. A power of transmitting authority, analogous to that which He was exercising Himself, was necessarily included in the power transmitted. As He had the power of delegation, so by His own act had His Apostles too; and if they had the power of delegation, they had also, by the same express charter of their institution, a commission to hand on that power of delegation; and so on perpetually, while the visible Church should last on earth."¹

And how, we may ask, did the Apostles understand it? how did they act? for whatever they did is the best practical commentary upon our Lord's meaning. We find that Paul and Barnabas "ordained elders in every Church;"² that these elders were recognised as empowered and required "to feed the Church of God" in the "flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers;"³ that they were left in charge as delegates, to be visited occasionally by those from whom they received their commission. In the Epistles to Timothy we read of the spiritual gift which was in him, and the manner of its communication "by the putting on" of the Apostle's "hands," as well as by "prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery,"⁴ that is, by the authoritative act of the Apostle, with the subordinate concurrence of the lower order. We find also the power of delegation intrusted in turn to Timothy himself, expressly included in the charge to "lay hands suddenly on no man,"⁵ and to be inferred likewise from the rules given for the choice of fit persons to be ordained as Bishops and Deacons.⁶ Here surely is the ordinance of ministerial succession provided, for no less than three successive generations. So that in Holy Scripture we have the germ, already considerably developed, of that constitution, which, as we read in writers not of canonical authority, was established by the Apostles in every one of their Churches. And although it may be granted that the *terms* "Apostle," "Bishop," and "Presbyter" are in Scripture used synonymously, yet there are clear indications of a distinction of orders in fact: of some who have a special authority to send, as well as of some who act by

¹ Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, pp. 99, 100.

² Acts xiv. 23.

³ Acts xx. 28.

⁴ 1 Tim. iv. 14.

⁵ 1 Tim. v. 22.

⁶ 1 Tim. iii. 1-13.

virtue of such mission. At all events, it is very shortly after the Apostles' death that, passing to the early Christian writers, we find the definite ordinance both as to title and office which has ever since prevailed.¹

¹ From Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, pp. 102-104. See also the discussion on the 1st Apostolical Canon in the Appendix to the same Lectures, p. 368; Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* vii., v. 2, 8; Bilson's *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*; and Archbishop Potter's *Discourse of Church Government*.

ARTICLE XXIV.

ARTICULUS XXIV.

De Loquendo in Ecclesia Lingua, quam Populus intelligit.

LINGUA Populo non intellecta, publicas in Ecclesia preces peragere, aut Sacramenta administrare, verbo Dei, et primitivae Ecclesiae consuetudini plane repugnat.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Of Speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the People understandeth.

IT is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments, in a tongue not understood of the people.

IN the edition of 1571 the Latin and English versions exactly agree with one another ; and they are the same as the Latin of 1562, except that the title then, and in 1552, ran “ Agendum est in ecclesia lingua quae sit populo nota.” The English version of 1562 singularly enough leaves out “and the custom of the Primitive Church,” though that is expressed in the Latin. On the other hand, there is considerable difference between the edition of 1552 and the other two, both in the Latin and English. The Article then was as follows : “ It is moste semelie, and moste agreable to the woorde of God, that in the congregation nothing be openlie readde, or spoken in a toungue unknownen to the people, the whiche thing S. Paule didde forbidde, excepte some were presente that should declare the same.”

Let us now consider what it was that made the assertion of this tenet of our Church necessary. We shall, in the first place, find ample reason in the sad consequences which had previously to the Reformation resulted from the prevalence of a contrary practice in the Church of Rome ; in which practice and in which results the Church of England, then under her usurped dominion, had, in common with Western Christendom, participated and suffered loss : we shall find it in the astounding ignorance and superstition which, up to

that time, was notoriously prevailing and increasing everywhere, not only amongst the laity, but the priesthood, many of whom did not even understand the Mass which they were mumbling over. These, I say, were reasons, evident to the Reformers who first compiled our Articles, evils of which they were personally cognisant, and quite sufficient of themselves to call for an immediate and complete reform, by a comparison of these gross corruptions with the Holy Scripture and with the practice of the Primitive Church. This was the case in 1552; but as it was not then certain that the Church of Rome would persist in this error, the wording of the Article in 1552 is, as it appears to me, less decisive upon the point than the later editions, because under altered circumstances. For in the interval very decided evidence was afforded that the Papists intended to retain the Latin language at all hazards, even in countries where that language was, to the great majority of the people, unintelligible. A closer examination of Scripture and of primitive antiquity, in the meantime, had also convinced the compilers of the next edition of the Articles, not only that it is most seemly and most agreeable to the Word of God, that in the congregation nothing should be openly read or spoken in a tongue unknown to the people, but also that the contrary practice is plainly repugnant to the Word of God; and not only that, but, as stated in the Latin edition of 1562, repugnant also to the custom of the primitive church; and to this more definite and conclusive argument against the Romish practice, no one contributed more than Bishop Jewel, in his famous Challenge, which remains unrefuted, as it is irrefutable, in twenty-seven Articles of error in the Church of Rome; one of which was on the subjects of this Article. This Challenge was originally propounded in the course of a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, Nov. 26, 1559,¹ and the second edition, so to call it, of the Articles was agreed to in February 1562, an interval of more than two years having elapsed after Bishop Jewel's Challenge. It must be remembered that there is great reason for thinking that Jewel himself bore an important share in that compilation. Thus far with respect to the altered and improved language of the edition of 1562. In the interval, which then elapsed up to 1571, the necessity for some such definite statement became still more apparent, because, on September 17, 1562, the Council of Trent, which had resumed its sittings January 18, 1562, had pronounced an anathema on the

¹ Jewel, vol. i. p. 30.

subject.¹ This, again, is one more melancholy instance of the fatal obstinacy in maintaining corruption, of which that Council (so-called) was the exponent and the instrument; which led them to stereotype their errors, to cut off, as far as in them lay, the Church of Rome from the path of repentance. Down to this time the practice had certainly prevailed of prayers and sacraments, in England and elsewhere, administered in the Latin tongue. The evil had sprung up gradually, almost unconsciously, without any one's particular fault. I speak of the earlier centuries, since there is no doubt that mediæval Popes, between Charlemagne and the Council of Trent, between the 10th and 15th centuries, had purposely, with their eyes open, maintained the corrupt practice, notwithstanding the growing reasons against its continuance. "Succeeding Popes saw too clearly the advantages of this cruel policy to think of abandoning it; and so, in the increasing darkness of those days, the evil grew and was perpetuated, not without the murmurs and protests of wise and pious men, till at length the fatal Council of Trent virtually stamped the usage into law."¹

We see, therefore, the grounds upon which this edition of 1571, revised, as you will remember, by Bishop Jewel himself, adopted both in Latin and English the form which we still retain.

We now proceed to the proof of the proposition thus embodied into the teaching of our Church. First let me remark, however, that the arguments, both from reason, from Scripture, and from antiquity, which are used in reference to prayers in the administration of the Sacraments, apply with equal force to the reading of Holy Scripture in the congregation (which is perhaps even implied in the word "Prayer," as in the compilers' minds this must have had reference to the established Book of Prayer, containing large portions of Holy Scripture), and the argument applies also, by analogy, to the copies of the Bible provided for the use of the people at home. In short, there is another subject involved in this Article which is of the utmost importance when we have to consider the great characteristic difference between the corrupt branch of the Church which takes its name from Rome, and that purified part of it which it is our blessed privilege to enjoy; and that subject is the free circulation of the Scriptures translated, added to an adequate supply of

¹ Conc. Trident. Sess. xxii.; De Sacrificio Missæ, can. ix.: "Si quis dixerit . . . lingua tantum vulgari missam celebrari deberi. . . anathema sit."

² Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, p. 149.

men qualified to enable the people to understand and apply them. I shall probably revert to this subject again, but if I do not, you can easily apply the proofs about to be offered on public prayer to similar conclusions respecting the connected subject of the Scriptures.

In this Article two propositions are involved: 1. The practice of using an unknown tongue is repugnant to the Word of God; 2. It is repugnant to the custom of the primitive Church.

1. To Scripture, St. Matt. xviii. 19, 20: "If two of you shall agree (*συμφωνήσουσι*) as touching anything they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven;" and this is of public worship from the next verse, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." To the same effect are Eph. v. 19, and Col. iii. 16. The passage, however, that seems most closely to bear on the point is 1 Cor. xiv. 2-17. Now it may be admitted that the subject we have in hand was not the immediate subject on which St. Paul is commenting; indeed, when we come to consider the practice of the Primitive Church hereafter, we shall see that St. Paul could not blame any abuse which did not exist in his own day, and that his words can only be directly applicable to a later specific abuse if God had thought proper to reveal to him in prophecy the specific as well as the general corruptions of the Church of later days; but the analogy between the cases is so complete, and the principles which the Apostle applies to the one fault of the Corinthians are so exactly applicable to the error of Rome, that we cannot hesitate, with this explanation, to adopt the chapter as proof; indeed, not so to use it would be wilfully to shut our eyes to the teaching of God in the Bible. St. Paul is alluding primarily to the fault of using the gift of tongues, then miraculously conferred upon certain members of the Church, in such a way as to perplex instead of informing the general body of worshippers, whose edification and spiritual comfort he evidently considers one of the main objects for which Christians assembled together in the congregation; and in the course of his argument he appeals to the dictates of common sense and to the plain consequences which must result from so absurd a practice. Throughout he clearly presupposes that every one in the Church, whether high or low, ignorant or learned, takes a part in the active worship of God: the *Amen*, which implies consent and participation in the foregoing prayer; and if consent and participation, then clearly a knowledge and understanding of the terms in which that

prayer is clothed : the *Amen* is supposed common to all, even to him that occupieth the room of the unlearned. A general injunction is twice repeated as to the final cause of assembling : " Let all things be done unto edifying ;" " Let all things be done decently and in order ;" and the whole exhortation rests upon the fact that " God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints."¹ But is that peace or confusion which is practised in a Romish congregation ? Is it not the ready means to cut off all sympathy and common interest between the unlearned and the officiating priests ?

2. It is repugnant to the practice of the Primitive Church. Now some doubts have been expressed by commentators as to the extent of meaning which must be given to the term " Primitive Church ;" yet there can be little doubt what Bishop Jewel meant by it, when he let the expression stand in his revision of 1571, *i.e.* at least the first six centuries ; and this extent of meaning he has made good in his Replie to Harding's answer to the Challenge, Article III., which is full of convincing argument. And I need hardly remind you, that when a doctrine or practice is repugnant to the custom and facts of six centuries from the date when the religion began, in its utmost purity, the most ingenious sophistry cannot convince us that an invention later than that era can be an improvement. It must be a deterioration and degeneracy from the first primitive model. In fact the admission that it was of later introduction carries with it its own self-condemnation. The subject has been very fully treated by Archbishop Usher, in a posthumous work edited by H. Wharton, *De Scripturis sacris et vernaculis Historia Dogmatica* ; a most remarkable work, in which a whole catena or stream of evidence through many centuries is given against the corruption of the Church of Rome. Bingham also (*Origines Eccles.* xiii. 4) gives several proofs. I will quote some specimens from Welchman, and from Jewel, vol. ii. The former quotes a passage of Justin Martyr, A.D. 155 (*Apol.* i. 87), who says that on Sundays, after reading of lessons, and a discourse, " we all rise up with one consent, and send forth our prayers to God." Jewel shows that St. Jerome, in describing the funeral of Paulla, says that "*Tota ad funus eius Palaestinarum urbium turba convenit. . . . Hebraeo, Graeco, Latino, Syroque sermone psalmi in ordine personabant*;"² and that St. Augustine bids the priests improve their Latin, "*ut populus ad id quod plane intelligit*

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

² Hieron. in Epitaph. Paullae (iv., part 2, p. 687).

dicat, *Amen*.”¹ Basil again says, *Συμμιγῆς ἡχος, οἷόν τινος κύματος ἡόνι προσφερομένου, ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ νηπίων, κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν δεήσεις ἐκπέμπεται*.² So St. Chrysostom, *Κοινὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαί*. . . . *ἐπέυχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ, ἐπέυχεται δὲ ὁ λαὸς τῷ ἱερεῖ*.³ St. Augustine again speaks of priests using sonorous words, “Non ut Deus, sed ut homines audiant;”⁴ and says in another place, “Unum psallimus cantamus, unum *Amen* respondemus.”⁵ Even more conclusive is a further testimony of St. Basil, *Ἐπὶ τούτοις (i.e. for singing and praying together), εἰ ἡμᾶς ἀποφεύγετε, φεύξεσθε μὲν Αἰγυπτίους· φεύξεσθε δὲ καὶ Λιβύας ἀμφοτέρους, Θηβαίους, Παλαιστίνους, Ἀραβας, Φοίνικας, Σύρας, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ κατοκισμένους, καὶ πάντας ἀπαξαιπλῶς, παρ’ οἷς ἀγρυπνῆσαι, καὶ προσευχαί, καὶ αἱ κοινὰὶ ψαλμῳδαὶ τετίμηνται*.⁷ And Justinian issues an edict that all bishops and priests should minister the holy oblation, and the prayer at baptism, with such voice as may be heard of the faithful people, that their hearts may be stirred to more devotion. In support of which he quotes 1 Cor. xiv. 16.⁷ And lastly, Nicolas Lyra, 1340, and Thomas Aquinas, 1274, bear witness that “the common service in the primitive Church was in the common vulgar tongue.”⁸

It appears, then, from the concurrent testimony of reason and common sense, as appealed to by St. Paul, of Holy Scripture, and the custom of the Primitive Church, that it is repugnant to all these to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.

Now let me say a few words in conclusion as to the motives which can have induced the Church of Rome to persist in an absurd and reprehensible practice, even notwithstanding the opinions of some of their most eminent divines. All those who know the character of that Church, will be convinced that there is some deep politic reason for this cruel conduct, and that however absurd it may be in itself, it is by no means absurd in respect of the designs of

¹ August. de Catechiz. Rud. c. ix. 13.

⁴ August. de Magistro, c. i. 2.

² Basil. Hexemer. 4 (i. 39).

⁵ Id. in Psalm liv.

³ Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor.

⁶ Basil. ad Cler. Neo-Cesar.

⁷ Justinian. Authent. Constit. 12, 13.

⁸ Lyra in 1 Cor. xiv., “Propter quod in primitiva ecclesia benedictiones et caetera communia fiebant in vulgari.” (Tom. vi. p. 322.) Aquinas, in 1 Cor. c. xiv. lectio iii., “Sed quare non dantur beneficia in vulgari, ut intelligantur a populo, et conforment se magis eis? Dicendum est quod hoc forte fuit in ecclesia primitiva.”

that Church. Let me premise what I have to say on this part of the subject by alluding to the only excuse which appears to have any show of reason, or which shows any the least advantage in the practice. It is said, namely, that an educated Romanist, wherever he finds himself, is always at home in the worship of the Church; that an Englishman at Rome, or a Spaniard in England, knows what is said, and can join in the prayers. But first let me observe that *pro tanto* this is no contradiction to our Article; secondly, that it regards only a very limited class; thirdly, that while the small class of travelled foreigners is thus provided for, the benefit of the real parishioners who are at home is wholly disregarded in this point; and surely of the two their interests ought to be paramount to their own pastor. While, therefore, this arrangement may seem at first sight to promote the unity of the Church, it most grievously injures those who ought to be the most immediate participants in that most powerful means of visible unity, the community and fellowship of prayer.

To return to the object of the Church of Rome in observing this practice. In the first place, the reading of prayers in a known tongue would, from the very order of the service, and indeed *a fortiori*, imply also the reading of the Scriptures, which, if it were freely allowed, would infallibly lead the hearers to perceive at once the numerous and grievous errors and heresies in doctrine and practice which the light of Scripture rightly interpreted detects in the Roman system. Secondly, the existing practice of not allowing the people generally to take an active, or even an intelligent part in the visible worship of God, directly promotes that which is the whole tendency of Papal Rome,—I mean sacerdotalism, the power, superiority, and distinctness of the clergy, in relation to the laity; I do not mean simply deference in regard to spiritual things on the part of the flock towards their overseers and pastors, nor reasonable obedience to a godly rule of the Church administered by the clergy, nor submission to their rebukes and exhortations, for all this is a part of the legitimate relations between the clergy and laity, clearly recognised in express texts of Holy Scripture: but the Roman system embraces much more,—nothing less than an absolute personal tyranny on the part of the priests over the individual consciences of men, slavish submission of the will and prostration of the understanding on the part of the people,—in fact, the attempt to place the clergy on a superior level, as a distinct caste, more holy, wise, and spiritual and good than any layman can be; in short, it is the spirit which has led

one of the advocates of the system to speak of the Romish priesthood as being, by virtue of their functions in the mass, superior to the angels, and even to the person whom they otherwise invest with something little short of the attributes of God Himself,—I mean the blessed Virgin Mary. This principle of sacerdotalism may be traced more or less in many of the corruptions of Rome. With regard to our present subject it shows itself in the evident tendency of prayer in a language unknown to the people to exalt the priesthood into the position of intercessors and mediators, praying for the people and not with them, not directing and leading the prayers of the congregation, but substituted for them. How diametrically opposed this idea is to the practice of the Primitive Church, let the passages quoted above from St. Chrysostom and others witness. It is impossible to enter a Romish cathedral abroad, and still more a Romish parish church in the country, without being struck with the feeling that the priest, sometimes alone, but at best with the addition of the choir, many of whom belong to the Clerus, to some inferior part of the privileged caste, is the only one engaged in public prayer; that the people as a body are wholly passive, that they do nothing, say nothing; they do not even kneel, except at the elevation, they do not even say *Amen*, because they have nothing to say or do; in short, they are mere bystanders, who if they will but be present have the benefit of the priest's prayers. In some cathedrals, indeed, and in some large churches in towns, the Romanists have lately resorted to the use of translations, held and followed by those who have them and can read: I have myself seen them in the Cathedral of Cologne; the Latin on one page, and the German version on the other; but this, while it only partially remedies the evil for those who can read, is in itself a practical acknowledgment of the evil and of the absurdity of maintaining it. And in the meantime, what becomes of the poor and ignorant? those of whom it is said emphatically that under Christianity they have the Gospel preached to them? They are wholly idle spectators, benefited no doubt by the prayers of others and by God's blessing on their own wish to do right, but wholly deprived of that mutual edification and comfort which St. Paul attributes by implication to the worship of God in the Church. But besides this, there is another error also lying at the root of this erroneous practice, I mean the belief, which the system of Rome encourages, that the benefit of Church privileges is secured *ex opere operato*, from the work being done, *i.e.* done by somebody, whatever dispositions it may be attended by. We

shall see this principle hereafter as illustrated in the subject of the mass. In our present subject it is, that it is sufficient for the worshippers that prayers be said, no matter who says them; so that in fact it comes to this, that as in private mass it is sufficient that the priest receive alone, while the body of his parishioners is standing by and looking on, so in respect to prayers, it is enough if the priest says them, while no one in the congregation joins him or can join.

And now let us turn and contrast with this false and fatal system, the blessing which we in our Communion may enjoy, which if we do not enjoy, it is our own fault. On the very threshold of our congregational privileges, we find the Book of Common Prayer, *i.e.* prayer common to all the people. We find it to be universally incumbent on all the people to say *Amen*; and that *Amen* follows a prayer perfectly intelligible to the people; we find a whole system of responses, answers to the priest, or rather not generally to the priest, except in the case of "*Dominus vobiscum*," "*Et cum spiritu tuo*," but a joining in, so to say, of the people with what the priest is saying. And this often so encouraged that the sense of what the priest says is not complete unless the people join and add the prayer set down for them. Look for instance at the versicles, "*O Lord, open thou our lips*."—*A.* "*And our mouth shall show forth thy praise*;" at the alternate saying of the Psalms, and the Doxology; again in the Litany, and the "*Sursum Corda*" of the Communion Service, and in the occasional services, the appeals to the congregation in the Form of Public Baptism, and in the Burial Service. Further, in contrast with the corresponding error about Holy Scripture, we have the Lessons so arranged, that if any one will attend daily, he will hear the greater part of the Old Testament once in the year, and the New Testament thrice;¹ and the whole service concluded, on Sundays at least, with a sermon, which though not the most important part of the service, is yet very serviceable and indispensable, particularly if it is applied to explain or illustrate Holy Scripture. And thus our Church has provided by God's grace and blessing the purest manual of devotion in existence; one not only thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of the rituals of the ancient Church, but in great measure translated from them, for the use of the meanest of her people. And now that we are extending the influence and usefulness of our Church by missions to the

¹ This of course refers to the old Table of Lessons, but the same principle is maintained in that which has been recently introduced.—J. R. K.

heathen, and in our colonial dioceses, we are becoming daily more and more careful to extend to the members of our Church there the same blessed privileges which we enjoy ourselves, by making versions, not only of the Bible, which is of course of primary necessity, but of the Book of Common Prayer, at the same time that we do our best to provide clergy who shall understand and use the vernacular language of the particular country where their spiritual labours extend.

In order that I may give a perfectly fair and candid statement of this matter, I cannot conclude the matter without alluding to two remarkable deviations in practice from the principles so wisely laid down in this Article. In Ireland and in Wales the Church for many years did not act systematically upon her own avowed principles. It is unnecessary to enter into the causes which have led to this; but amongst them may be reckoned the natural desire in a ruling country to propagate her language at the expense of the vernacular tongue, there being manifest convenience in matters of law, military offices, and indeed in the daily course of life, to have one language in a people inseparably united, rather than two. It was hoped then, by discouraging Irish and Welsh, they would gradually become extinct. However that may be, it has for a long period been the custom to have in parts of Ireland and Wales where no English was spoken the service in the English tongue. And we have been sorely punished for this inconsistency, and now are beginning to do our best to remedy the evils which have sprung from it. For in Wales the Dissenters have been wiser than we have, and have taken every means to influence the people by using in their congregations that beautiful and fondly-loved and cherished language, Welsh; and the consequence has been a very large increase of the worst forms of dissent. In Ireland, again, the Popish priests used the weapon which they repudiated elsewhere, and employed Erse,—not in their worship, so as to supersede Latin, but in their addresses and instructions to the people; and the consequence has been an utter ignorance on the part of the people of the real principles of the English Reformation, and the increase of influence on the part of a very degraded Roman priesthood.

But even apart from these two oversights, which, as they are now more generally recognised, we may hope to see rectified, have not many of us something to reproach ourselves with in respect to our practical acceptance and use of this Article? Do we really enjoy the full privilege which this Article, breathing as it does the spirit of St. Paul and of the

primitive Church, was intended to secure? We must all have remarked the sad silence which so often is found in our congregations,—the utter want of all outward sympathy and concurrence with the officiating priest. Most people seem to think that by supplying a clerk, to whom they delegate the *onus* of praying in their stead, they have discharged all their part of the duty. But if St. Paul, if the primitive Church, if our own Church in her express laws, if this Article itself, if the rubric in the Common Prayer-Book, nay, if a book of common prayer in itself mean anything, those congregations which remain silent,—I mean not only those who do not follow the prayers mentally, but those who do not join audibly, who do not say *Amen*, who do not add their voices to the responses,—those congregations are wrong; nay, they fall partially into the very Romish error which this Article was intended to meet. They consider public worship to be valuable *ex opere operato*, because it has been said by the priest and the clerk. Every single individual, on the contrary, ought to do his best, as if it all depended upon him, to give utterance to his inward feelings of prayer and praise: not lip service, of course, but the service of the heart and mouth combined. The result would be warmth of devotion and mutual edification, where now we too often see listlessness, inattention, and weariness, resulting from a neglect of that combined outward devotion which reason, Scripture, and the Church alike commend to each and all. I would have you do it, not as internally contrasting our service with others, not of envy or strife; but in a grateful recognition of the blessing which our Reformed Church, purified by God's mercy, enjoys.

ARTICLE XXV.

ARTICULUS XXV.

De Sacramentis,

SACRAMENTA a Christo instituta, non tantum sunt notae professionis Christianorum, sed certa quaedam potius testimonia, et efficacia signa gratiae, atque bonae in nos voluntatis Dei, per quae invisibiliter ipse in nos operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.

Duo a Christo Domino nostro in Evangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta, scilicet Baptismus et Coena Domini.

Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta: scilicet Confirmatio, Poenitentia, Ordo, Matrimonium, et Extrema Unctio, pro Sacramentis Evangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quae, partim a prava Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt, partim vitae status sunt in Scripturis quidem probati; sed Sacramentorum eandem cum Baptismo et Coena Domini rationem non habentes, ut quae signum aliquod visibile, seu ceremoniam, a Deo institutum non habeant.

Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur, aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur. Et in his dumtaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum: Qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt,

ARTICLE XXV.

Of the Sacraments.

SACRAMENTS ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in Him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.

THE next seven Articles, xxv.-xxxi. inclusive, require to be handled with the nicest care, not simply because they have given occasion to the bitterest controversies which have affected the Church, but because, quite apart from controversy, they contain a doctrine which is of primary import-

ance for its own sake in the conduct of human life. If there never had been any such error as Transubstantiation on the one hand, or if there had never been a Remonstrant or a Zuinglian on the other, the doctrine of the Christian Sacraments must be considered of primary importance; the passions and practices of men have doubtless made it more necessary to treat them carefully, and, as is usual, have led to a more definite statement of Christian doctrine; but we should ourselves fall into grievous error if we regarded them only in this negative point of view, and not also with reference to their own positive intrinsic value. I mean, if we were content with denying what is false respecting them, without embracing a positive view and statement of the truth; and there is one consideration which is sufficient by itself to enforce our most reverential attention to these subjects—I mean the fact that the Sacraments are a part of the express will of God: that is, it is as much a part of His will that the sacraments should have been instituted and should be perpetuated, as that we should have faith in Christ, or give alms to the poor, or speak the truth, or honour our father and mother, or keep any other of His commandments. The same Divine voice which said, “Honour thy father and thy mother,” or, “Love thy neighbour as thyself,” said also, “Go and baptize all nations,” and, “Do this in remembrance of Me.” And what mortal man can draw a distinction between the one kind of command and the other? They are in fact alike the will of God, and if so, alike binding upon the conscience, and equally necessary to be understood and believed. The real object, therefore, which I shall have in view will be the establishment of the positive Christian truth of the Sacraments, whatever I say of error being only to illustrate and confirm the truth. If there is one central truth, and if there are errors on either side of it, on the right hand and on the left, the truth will be best understood by being contrasted with the two extremes respectively; but while in this way the Lectures may wear a controversial aspect, all that they really aim at is, as I said, positive truth. In short, the object of every one who treats of the Thirty-nine Articles should be not to blame others, nor to disagree with others, though collaterally it is impossible to abstain from it, but “for the avoiding of diversities of opinion, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion.”¹

The first of these seven Articles speaks of Sacraments in general: what they are and what they are not, what they are

¹ Description of the Articles, as prefixed to them in the Prayer-Book.

designed to be, and what is not the design of their institution. We must endeavour, therefore, to confine ourselves at present to this general view, not entering more than can be avoided into the nature of the particular Sacraments, which will come properly under inquiry in later Lectures.

In the Twenty-fifth Article, the editions of 1562 and 1571 substantially and almost verbally agree; but that of 1552 presents a considerable difference of form. It begins with this paragraph: "Our Lorde Jesus Christe hathe knitte together a companie of newe people with Sacramentes, moste fewe in number, moste easie to be kepte, most excellent in significatione, as is Baptisme and the Lordes Supper." The first paragraph of the later editions is placed at the end; and after "have an wholesome effecte and operacione," the following words are added: "And yet not that of the worke wrought (*ex opere operato*), as some men speake, whiche worde, as it is strange, and unknowen to holie Scripture, so it engendereth no godlie but a very superstitious sense."

Now it is evident at once that several distinct propositions are involved in this Article; but all will be found to depend more or less directly upon the definition which we give to the word "Sacrament." This must therefore be our first business; or, in other words, we must begin with the title "de Sacramentis."

In the first place, then, let it be remarked that the word "Sacrament" is not in itself a scriptural word, though the Greek word *μυστήριον* may sometimes be so translated in the technical sense of theology. But this we know is equally the case with "Trinity," and other words of similar importance. Its first meaning is "anything sacred;" many of you are probably familiar with its classical meanings: "a pledge or deposit in a court of justice;" "a trial at law;" "a military oath." At length by a transition or association which is not easy to be perceived, it came to be used by the early Christian writers in a technical Christian sense, to express under one formula a whole class of truths or practices which are peculiar to the Christian religion. In early times, and even after its more proper use belonged to what we should now call Sacraments, the word was used loosely to signify "a mystery," "a sacred thing," a visible sign of some invisible sacred mystery; insomuch that Bishop Jewel counts up no less than seventeen such mysteries to which one or other of the Fathers has applied the term.¹ In short, the

¹ Jewel; Def. of Apol. Part ii. c. 11, Div. 2, in vol. v. 26; and Treatise of the Sacraments, vol. viii. p. 9.

word was for a time used indiscriminately, both for Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and also for these other mysteries. This, however, could not go on long, for it must have been clearly perceived, even upon the surface of things, that there must be a distinction between Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the Sacrament of the cross, of prayer, of fasting, of weeping, and other things to which the name has been applied. Divines could not but have perceived that in the one was a complex idea made up of several constituent parts, consisting of Christ's own personal command and institution, a certain external element, a certain inward communicated grace, universal obligation on all Christians; all this and much more implied and comprehended in the first class; but either wholly or partially absent in the other. And if this is the case, there ought to be a distinctive name; and this was effected, first, by considering Sacraments as of two sorts, the one intrinsically belonging to the Gospel, by Christ's appointment, and generally necessary for all, conveying as outward means inward grace to all the faithful, not by their own intrinsic virtues, but by God's own appointment; the other incidentally employed in the service of religion, more or less supposed to be edifying according to the fancy, wants, and circumstances of Christians severally: and the matter ended by restricting the use of the word to the first class, as it is now used in the Church; so much so, that it has come to pass, that the generality of people are not aware that there was a time when Christian writers employed the term in a vague unphilosophical sense. The only difference remaining, and this only a question of later centuries, was what institutions should be counted to be in the first class of sacraments, according to the more restricted use of the word. All that I would now gather, upon this statement of the philology of the word, is that nothing can be inferred from the fact of finding the word Sacrament applied by early Christian writers to other things besides Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and further, that it is not consistent with the plain rules of logic, that is, of common sense, to use the same words strictly and vaguely in the same passages and context.

The ancient Fathers, when they spoke more accurately upon this subject, define a sacrament, "*Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibile signum*;"¹ "*Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum.*"² In this definition the distinctive fact of Christ's

¹ St. Aug. de Cons. dist. 2. Sacrificium, as quoted in Jewel, vol. viii. p. 2.

² Id. Tract. in Joh. lxxx. 3.

appointment was implied, for the term "verbum" here means the word of institution which Christ spoke; in Baptism, "In the name of the Trinity in Unity;" in the Eucharist, "This is my body; do this in remembrance of Me;" and that St. Augustine and the rest considered them generally necessary is shown by their writings, which continually assert this as a fundamental truth of Christianity. So that, in fact, in St. Augustine's definition fully expanded, we have an exact equivalent for that admirable one which our own Church has adopted, and which is, I hope, familiar and intelligible to you all, that a Sacrament is "an outward and visible sign of an inward spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof."

Having now cleared the way by definition, we proceed to divide the definition in the first paragraph into two propositions:—

1. Sacraments ordained of Christ are badges or tokens of Christian men's profession.

2. They are much more, viz., certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's goodwill towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him.

1. With respect to the first, I suppose that any Christian would grant, and even the Jews and heathen would grant, that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are signs and tokens and badges of Christian men's profession; the badges of *μαθηται*, by which they are dedicated, and profess themselves, and are accounted as dedicated to the service of God in the religion of Christ. Indeed they are accepted as such signs, in the nature of a test, not only by Christian states, but by heathen states, ancient and modern. So that these sacraments were not only in the nature of *tesserae*, conventional marks by which Christians are known to each other, but as distinctive marks by which they are known from all others (which is perhaps the origin of the use of the word Sacramentum); in the same way as circumcision was one test by which men distinguished a Jew. This is too plain to require further proof.

2. When we come to the second proposition, it may be asked, Who ever said that sacraments were *only* badges and tokens? Certainly no one can say so who has been properly taught in the Church of England, who has ever duly studied Christian antiquity, or considered the express teaching of Holy Scripture. Yet there have been and still are large bodies of men, calling themselves Christians, external to our

Church, who do so consider them ; and what is worse, there are persons within our own Church who attribute to the two Sacraments little more. Of course those who do so within our Church, with this Article, and our Homilies and our Liturgy, Catechism and Baptismal Service before them, do it in defiance of our Church's teaching, and they are therefore only individually to blame ; and even if the majority thought so, it would not alter the doctrine of our Church, so long as these formularies remain. If we analyse the definition of a Sacrament, whether in the Article or in the Catechism, we shall find that it consists of four parts : 1. an external part ; 2. an appointment by Christ ; 3. a sign or pledge ; 4. an invisible efficacy.

And in this description of a Sacrament, the Church of Rome, though not by any precise definition or form, in the main agrees, as may be seen from the canon on the subject in the seventh Session of the Council of Trent, passed March 3, 1547 : "*Si quis dixerit sacramenta novae legis non continere gratiam quam significant, aut gratiam ipsam non ponentibus obicem non conferre, quasi signa tantum externa sint acceptae per fidem gratiae vel iustitiae, et notae quaedam Christianae professionis, quibus apud homines discernuntur fideles ab infidelibus ; anathema sit.*"¹ From this it is evident, as might have been anticipated, that the Church of Rome holds that these signs are efficacious to the full as expressly as ourselves ; indeed the dangerous expression "*continere gratiam*" opens the door to more than we allow ; and the Zuinglians, Remonstrants, Anabaptists, and Quakers, who hold them to be mere signs, or unnecessary to salvation, are distinctly anathematized in the very terms of the canon.

Again, while one class of sectarians, opposed equally to the Church of Rome and ourselves, hold that the Sacraments are mere signs of our Christian profession, there is amongst others a more subtle form of heresy at work, which without absolutely and in terms denying that the sacraments are efficacious signs, make their efficacy to consist in the moral effect produced upon men's minds by these significant ceremonies, as they would call them, much in the same way as a picture, or a vivid description of a friend's sufferings incurred for our sakes, would in ordinary life affect us ; or again, taking Baptism, that it is a significant action similar to that which Pilate adopted, when he "took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent

¹ Conc. Trid. Sess. vii. de Sacramentis in Genere, Can. vi. ; cp. the preface to the same decree.

of the blood of this just person ;”¹ that it is not that by God’s own appointment it washes away our sins; that it is not that it brings about justification (of course I speak of the whole Baptismal form, the water with the words), but that it expresses it. Now observe how admirably framed this definition in the Article is against this most dangerous error: “effectual signs of grace and of God’s goodwill towards us, by the which (*per quæ*) He (*Ipse, He Himself*) works in us,” or “into us,” “*in nos*,” expressing, I think, a more motive agency than “*in nobis*,” from which it was altered by Bishop Jewel, “and by the which,” (for this phrase must be grammatically repeated,) He doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in Him.” Instead of the effect consisting in emotions excited as it were through our ordinary senses, as these sectarians would have it, the Article states that through these extraordinary and appointed instruments, God Himself works in us or into us.

As it has been my wish throughout these Lectures, not only to lay before you the teaching of the Church of England in the Thirty-nine Articles as a fact, but also to lead your minds to the principles of her teaching, I must take the opportunity offered by the present Article, to call your attention to the one characteristic by which she is distinguished. It is impossible, I think, for any one to consider attentively the position of the Church of England, as we have been partially doing in these Lectures, without being struck with this feature, that she steadily sets her face against all innovations of doctrine on either side, on the right hand or the left; that she is equally opposed to innovation by addition of new and unscriptural tenets, and to that by diminution from the faith once delivered to the saints; that whilst she denies transubstantiation, she does not deny the spiritual eating by the faithful of the body and blood of Christ; that if she discards the five so-called additional sacraments of the Church of Rome, she does it for the express purpose of exalting the two sacraments exclusively and preeminently so called: that while she denies any intrinsic efficacy to the elements of the Sacraments, she yet holds an efficacy by God’s appointment; in short, that although she is anti-Romish, she is also anti-Zuinglian and anti-Remonstrant, opposed at once to gross and deadly superstition and to cold unchristian rationalism; and to that kindred error which, under the name of mysticism, denies all mysteries, and all the means of grace. The position of our Church has always struck intelligent foreigners; for instance, Jo.

¹ St. Matt. xxvii. 24.

Casaubon, who died in 1614, said that the Church of England was so constituted, that no Church of modern days approaches nearer to the form of the Church as it formerly flourished, following as she does a middle way between those who err on the side of addition to the truth, and those who err on the side of deficiency.¹

From what has been said, it will be seen that the great stress of the first paragraph lies on the word "*efficacia*;" and it may be further noticed that the meaning of this word is both strengthened and limited by the following clause, "*per quae invisibiliter ipse in nos (or in nobis) operatur Deus, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.*" It limits the words *efficacia signa gratiae*, inasmuch as the whole effect is attributed to the invisible agency of God Himself (*Deus ipse*); it confirms these words, inasmuch as it shows that they are instruments or instrumental means of God's invisible grace; that is, they are predicated as efficacious in a similar sense, though of course not in the same way of physical or material operation, to any other means. To take an illustration: as certain medicines produce, in bodies predisposed to profit by them, certain definite results, or, not to go beyond the Church Catechism, as our bodies are strengthened by the bread and wine as food, so, without pressing the analogy too far, and of course avoiding all notion of anything mechanical, material, or corporeal, the water in Baptism added to the words of institution, and the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, also added to the words, do, by God's appointment, produce certain effects upon the soul of those who are prepared to receive them, and this is the force of the words "*per quae.*" Let me observe in passing that the words *excitat* and *confirmat* are respectively the equivalent expressions for preventing and cooperative grace: "put into our minds good desires, and enable us to bring the same to good effect." Before we pass on, too, let us further notice, that the definition of the Article is confirmed, not only by the well-known profound definition in the Church Catechism, but also practically by the two Offices of Holy Baptism and of the Holy Communion, respectively. Thus in the Office of Baptism, not to enlarge at present upon other passages of the same import, we pray that the water before us, in which the child is about to be baptized, "may be sanctified to the mystical washing away of sin;" and again Regeneration is throughout that Office connected with water baptism, which is in fact founded upon the implied truth, that the water with

¹ Cave, Proleg. xxxiv.

the words is an effectual means and instrument of grace. So again in the Communion Office it is said, "if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament," (*i.e.* "that Bread," and "that Cup," mentioned in the clause before), "then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink His blood," which is equivalent to saying that the bread and wine are the efficacious means *per quae* qualified persons do receive that inward and spiritual grace, the Body and Blood of Christ.

To the same effect are the words of the Homily on the Sacrament: "In the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, but as the Scripture saith, *the table of the Lord, the bread and cup of the Lord, the memory of Christ, the annunciation of His death*, yea, *the communion of the body and blood of the Lord* in a marvellous incorporation, which, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, the very bond of our conjunction with Christ, is through faith wrought in the souls of the faithful."¹ And so Jewel, in his Apology, itself a semi-official document, says, "*Recipimus sacramenta ecclesiae, hoc est, sacra quaedam signa et caerimonias, quibus Christus nos uti voluit, ut illis mysteria salutis nostrae ante oculos constitueret, et fidem nostram, quam habemus in eius sanguine, vehementer confirmaret, et gratiam suam in cordibus nostris obsignaret.*"¹

The result, then, of the examination of this first paragraph is an exact accordance between the Church Catechism, and the Liturgy, and the Homilies and Apology, on the one hand, and the Thirty-nine Articles on the other.

Now, in the natural order of things, this would be the proper place for proving this efficaciousness as against the Zuinglians, Quakers, and Anabaptists; but as the proof must consist in showing its truth with reference to the two sacraments individually, and as the same efficaciousness is virtually predicated again in the Article relating to each sacrament, I prefer to postpone this question till those Articles come regularly before us; and till that proof has been offered, it is as well to consider this paragraph simply as one definition of our Church as to the meaning of the word Sacrament; and a definition, as such, does, as you know, require no proof.

Of course, for similar reasons, the second paragraph, which simply enumerates the "Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel," must be also postponed.

¹ Sermon concerning the Sacrament, Part i. p. 442.

² Jewel, Apol. Part ii. c. x., vol. iv. p. 21.

We pass on now, then, to the third paragraph, in order to show that this definition does not apply to those offices which were, at the time of the compilation, commonly called sacraments. First, however, in order that the full force of this paragraph may be understood, it is necessary to read the decree of the Council of Trent which it opposes, which is as follows: "*Si quis dixerit, sacramenta novae legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo Domino nostro instituta; aut esse plura vel pauciora quam septem, videlicet: baptismum, confirmationem, eucharistiam, poenitentiam, extremam unctionem, ordinem et matrimonium; aut etiam aliquod horum non esse sacramentum, anathema sit.*"¹ In fairness we ought to add the third canon of the same decree: "*Si quis dixerit haec septem sacramenta ita esse inter se paria, ut nulla ratione aliud sit alio dignius, anathema sit.*"

You will observe that the paragraph before us simply disputes the title of the five ordinances in question to be called Sacraments of the Gospel, in the sense just defined. It does not condemn all of them as erroneously held in the Church of Rome; on the contrary, we know that some of them our Church adopts under the more correct name of Offices, whilst she has discarded or modified others, as it was her undoubted right to do in her capacity as an independent branch of Christ's Church. But it is evident that the lawfulness of her thus treating them upon a different footing from the two great Sacraments proper, depends wholly upon the question whether she is right in excluding them from the definition.

Before we proceed to the several particular offices here excluded from the proper name of Sacraments, let us consider them in general as seven. You will remember that I gave instances of the laxity of expression which is observable in the early Fathers.² There is not the smallest ground for fixing the number seven: some have said thirteen; and there is every ground for the preeminence which we assert for the two. The place, from St. Augustine's letter to Januarius, where he is expressly speaking of Offices, is conclusive, affirming "that the Sacraments of the Christians, as they are 'most excellent in signification,' so are they most few in number; and making mention expressly of two, the Sacrament of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord."³ Again, the author who wrote the treatise

¹ Conc. Trident. Sess. vii. Decretum de Sacramentis in Genere, can. i.

² See above, p. 311.

³ August. Ep. liv. i., as quoted in the Homily of Common Prayer, etc., p. 356.

De Sacramentis," under the name of St. Ambrose, treats only of two; and before him, Irenæus, Justin, and Tertullian do the same. Bramhall has summed up the question in few words: "Our Church receives not the septenary number of sacraments, being never so much as mentioned in any Scripture, or Council, or Creed, or Father, or ancient author; first devised by Peter Lombard in 1139, first decreed by Eugenius iv. 1439, first confirmed in the Provincial Council of Senes 1528."¹

We will now, therefore, take them in their order, describe each and examine each by the test of the definition.

Confirmation.—Now it is unnecessary here to dwell upon the importance which our Church attaches to the office, and in so doing she follows the primitive Church; she confines it exclusively to the Bishop; she considers it as derived from the Apostles, and as one of the secondary means of grace; but, inasmuch as there is no record whatever of its being ordained by our Lord Himself, not only no record in Holy Scripture, but no such command witnessed to by the early Church, she does not esteem it a Sacrament of the Gospel. It is clearly a rite of ecclesiastical appointment, after the model of what the Apostles did when they laid hands on those who had first been baptized into John's baptism, which act was followed by extraordinary miraculous gifts.² There is little doubt that in early times the imposition of hands by the Bishop took place immediately after baptism, so that at that time it was considered rather a portion of the baptismal service, as what was called the complement of baptism, than as a distinct act; so that in that loose mode of speaking of the word Sacrament alluded to above, the two acts which took place consecutively at baptism, the immersion with the words of institution, and the imposition of hands, at that time with the use of chrism, were called Sacraments, as being part of the means adopted in the Sacrament of Baptism properly so called. In process of time this conjunction of Baptism and Confirmation was abrogated, and that in all Churches (the first variation being occasioned probably by the case of those who had been baptized by heretics, and who, on rejoining the Church, as it was impossible to re-baptize them, were admitted by imposition of hands); and there are obvious reasons now for the postponement of Confirmation. Amongst other points, it seems admirably adapted to remedy the in-

¹ Conc. Senonense, vi. can. x.; Richard, ii. 490.

² Acts xix. 6. The other passages of Scripture which contain this germ of Confirmation are Acts viii. 17 and Hebrews vi. 2.

conveniences which might in the nature of things have flowed from Infant Baptism. It gives an opportunity analogous to that which adult catechumens enjoyed of learning the doctrines and duties of the Christian faith, and of publicly testifying acceptance of the baptismal vows. This, however, has nothing to do with our present question, except that it seems to account for the use of the word *sacramentum*, though it was confessedly not instituted by Christ. This then is one point of difference between this and the two proper Sacraments. Another was that there was no outward and visible sign ordained by Christ; for though it is true that chrism or oil was very early brought into use, yet it was, according to the best account, after the time of the Apostles. This is all that it seems necessary to say at present about Confirmation.

The next of these improperly called sacraments is *Penance*. Now when we hear this word in reference to the question at issue between us and Rome, we must be careful not to fall into the error of supposing that there is meant here that ancient discipline of the Church, which we admit we have not retained ourselves, by which (as the Communion Service expresses it) such persons as stood convicted of sin were put to open penance. Of the nature and severity of that discipline we in this day can hardly form an adequate idea; indeed, its revival in that form and degree, if it were advisable, would be next to impossible in these days,—it would appear to be so wholly incompatible with modern habits. Yet even this kind of penance, which was spoken of before under Article XVI., wholesome as it doubtless was in the first ages of Christianity, had no pretensions to be called a sacrament; for it was not ordained by Christ Himself, it was purely of apostolic or ecclesiastical origin; it had no outward or visible sign ordained by Christ Himself as a means whereby men should receive the inward grace; it had besides no promise of any inward spiritual grace. It was a cutting off from Church privileges, from the Eucharist, and even from joining in public prayer; it was humiliation, it involved a long course of probation, submission to the Church, etc.; all which would doubtless be calculated to act beneficially on the mind and soul; but not in the way of grace communicated by any outward act, except so far as it was wrought by the crowning restoration to the fellowship of the Church by participating in the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. And if this was so of that genuine form of ancient penance, what shall be said of that comparatively modern system which has been substituted for it? In order to show how great a differ-

ence there is between ancient penance and that enjoined in the Church of Rome, we must examine what are the constituent parts of this so-called sacrament, according to Romish writers. And first, instead of being public, it would rather seem to be most properly an authoritative regulation of private repentance, conducted by a minister of the Church. The definition is "a sacrament of the remission of sins committed after baptism." It consists, according to Romish writers, of four parts: Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction, Absolution. Now these four things, properly used and guarded from abuse, may be very salutary; and with due limitations they are actually recommended by the express warrant of our Church, as will be seen at once by referring to the first exhortation to the Holy Communion. "Bewail your own sinfulness," represents contrition; "confess yourselves to Almighty God," enjoins confession; "being ready to make restitution and satisfaction to the uttermost of your powers," shows that satisfaction is contemplated; and in counselling, in some cases, even private confession, the object is to "receive the benefit of absolution." The more lamentable it is that under these names the Church of Rome should have introduced so much that is objectionable, and that she should have connected them in one system which she thinks proper to call a sacrament. Now, of course it would be sufficient to show that this name does not properly belong to it, that being the proper object of this part of the Article, as is shown at once by the fact that as a system it was of late invention, and therefore not ordained by Christ; secondly, that it has no outward and visible sign ordained by Christ;—and here we might stop, but that it seems advisable to say a few more words on the parts of which this ordinance is composed.

1. *Contrition*, or sorrow for sin, requires few remarks. It is defined in the Council of Trent as "grief of the soul, and detestation of sin committed, with a purpose to sin no more for the time to come;"¹ a definition to which we might well subscribe. Yet even here they have introduced a vain distinction, which is very mischievous. If *contrition* is not felt, *attrition* is sufficient to give validity to the sacrament; attrition being sorrow for the consequences of sin, so that for true repentance is substituted something which through fear of consequences may lead to repentance, and turn the will from sin, but is not repentance itself, any more than that is honesty which leads a man not to steal in such cases where his dishonesty may bring him within the peril

¹ Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv., De Sacramento Poenitentiae, can. v.

of the law, so that according to them a sinner may be admitted to full absolution who does not "truly repent."

It is not meant that attrition is utterly useless, and may not be accepted, if it is the best which any given character is for the time capable of; but it is surely dangerous to define that such is the case, inasmuch as it tends to lower the standard of what we should arrive at, and do away with the necessity of true repentance.¹

2. *Confession*, doubtless in itself a very salutary and necessary act as the expression of true repentance; confession, as an act of humiliation before God which seeth in secret, absolutely necessary and indispensable; confession, anciently in this sense called *Exomologesis*, as a part of the ancient discipline of the Church, if it could be restored, that is, open confession in the face of the congregation, most useful as causing shame to the offender and a warning to others; confession, as a useful practice between one Christian and another, indisputably recommended in Holy Scripture: "Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed;"² confession as to God's authorized minister of great comfort to the penitent sinner, if a voluntary act, as is acknowledged by our Church in the first exhortation to the Holy Communion, and in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick: "Let him come unto me, or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief, that by the ministry of God's holy word he may receive the benefit of absolution;" and again, "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins;"—in all these ways confession is doubtless good and useful. But all this is widely different from the practice of the Roman Confessional. On this we must to some extent enlarge, inasmuch as it seems the great instrument by which Satan is enticing unwary souls into the heresies of Rome. Such persons are anxious to throw off personal responsibility. They prefer being directed; they choose to have it so. Our Church gives no encouragement to such directions, which are at the best broken reeds. To make confession to a priest absolutely necessary; to make it periodical—the Council of

¹ For the Romish view of attrition, see Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. c. iv.: "Illam contritionem imperfectam, quae attritio dicitur, . . . si voluntatem peccandi excludat, cum spe veniae declarat (*sancta synodus*), . . . donum Dei esse, et Spiritus sancti impulsus . . . Et quamvis sine sacramento poenitentiae per se ad iustificationem perducere peccatorem nequeat, tamen cum ad Dei gratiam in sacramento poenitentiae impetrandam disponit."

² St. James v. 16.

Trent enjoins under a curse that it should be made once every year;¹ to give facilities for its being auricular, that is, that the priest and penitent shall not see each other, or at the least secret; to train up the priesthood in the art and mystery of confessing penitents, thereby familiarizing their minds with the most horrid details of human depravity, in a degree which must pollute the consciences of all those who are not endowed with angelic purity; to leave the application of this shocking knowledge to fallible, often to inexperienced men, certainly to unmarried men, not to mention wicked or hypocritical priests; to apply it at their own discretion as an instrument for extorting confession from the young, the pure, the innocent, thereby much oftener suggesting wicked thoughts than curing them; to give this power to those whose first principle is sacerdotalism; to give to such men, often unscrupulous, often Jesuits, whose first principle is that antichristian one, that the end justifies the means; to give them the key to the secrets of families, often of sovereigns; and then to represent all this tyranny and immorality as necessary, nay, as a necessary part of an ordinance which is called a sacrament—all this is on the face of it so unscriptural, so abhorrent from the spirit of Christianity, so entirely a human system, that its bare statement seems a sufficient refutation. But further than this, there is proof that the old Fathers did not consider confession to the priest, or what is called private, sacramental, or auricular confession, necessary. What they considered necessary was confession in the face of the congregation.²

There is moreover a remarkable fact in ecclesiastical history, which throws great light upon this question how far confession is necessary. Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 381, abrogated the office of Penitentiary or Confessor in that Church, upon occasion of a grievous scandal to which the office had given rise. Nectarius did this at the advice of Eudæmon, who assigned these grounds, "that every one might have full liberty to receive the Holy Communion, according to the dictates of his own conscience and confidence." Hence the practice of compulsory confession was abrogated in the East, after Nectarius's example.³

3. *Satisfaction.* This of course admits of a good sense

¹ Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. c. v., cp. the decree De Poenitentiae, can. viii.

² See Jewel, Def. of Apol. part ii. c. 7, div. 2, in vol. iv. pp. 526, 528, 529.

³ Socrates, v. 19. See also Jer. Taylor, Dissuasive from Popery, part II. i. sec. 11, vol. vi. p. 531.

and a good use, as, for instance, if the sin has been a theft, any clergyman would insist upon the restoration of the thing stolen to the utmost of the penitent's power, or in slander, the retractation of the slander; but this is not all that is meant by the term in the Romish Penance. Their notion of satisfaction is, as you will remember, closely connected with the Romish doctrine of merits, and also the foundation of that of purgatory. In its usual sense it includes prayer, almsdeeds, and fasting, all no doubt Christian observances, but yet utterly useless towards making compensation for our sins; and this is quite enough to show the danger of the Romish view of satisfaction, even without reference to the consequent abuses, such as that of one person satisfying for another, or that of purgatory as a supplement to such portion of the satisfaction as has not been performed in this life; or again, the practical consequence, that the confessor takes advantage of the terrors of the penitent, and compels him, under the name of almsdeeds, which are left to the priest's discretion, to give all his goods to the endowment of some monastery, or to the purchase of masses for the soul of the penitent himself, or those of his relatives and friends.

4. Of *Absolution*, or the power of the Keys, which is the fourth part of this so-called Romish sacrament, it is not necessary to say much, inasmuch as it is well known that our Church, with due limitations and with due cautions against abuse, does really admit it, not as a sacrament, but as a means of grace. This might be shown in the commission given to the priest at his ordination: "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." I have not time to enter into a full explanation or defence of this view taken by our Church, for which we shall have another opportunity under Article xxxvi.; but to show that in the legitimate use of absolution (and it will be legitimate if it is used as a trust for God's keys only, if the priest as God's delegate does not exceed his power, and if its effects are considered conditional), we are not deficient, though I must add that we have three forms,—declaratory, in Morning and Evening Prayer; precatory, in the Holy Communion; and authoritative, in the Visitation Offices.¹

Thus much, then, for Penance, consisting of these four parts, of which the first three are the part of the penitent,—contrition, confession, satisfaction, and are called the *matter*

¹ For a further account of Absolution, see Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, p. 116.

of the sacrament; the fourth, absolution, its *form*, is the part of the priest. In this complex view of it, this was never instituted by Christ, or His apostles either; it has no sign, and no grace analogically signified,—they themselves disagreeing as to what is the sign or what the grace; some saying that the words of absolution are the sign, others absolution, others the imposition of hands.

Orders, though appointed by Christ, and in our Church deemed of great importance, is no proper sacrament, inasmuch as it has no outward sign or element appointed by Christ; the oil used in the Romish ordinal being of late introduction, while even the imposition of hands which the apostles introduced was not peculiar to this ordinance.

Matrimony, which our Church designates here as a state of life ordained by God, and which, as a Church, she has always considered sacred, sanctified by Christ's presence,—and holy too, as a type of the union between Christ and His Church,—and has ever looked on as needing the Church's blessing,—as a religious act which, if faithfully followed up, will bring down a blessing upon the married pair,—is yet no sacrament of the Gospel. It was not instituted in Christ's time, but from the beginning; not for Christians only, but for all men. He confirmed it as a sacred contract, but did not appoint any rite, or any outward element or sign; nor is it easy to see what peculiar inward and spiritual grace is attached to the rite, sacred as that rite is. It is singular, moreover, if there is this grace peculiar to matrimony, that the only persons excluded from this grace are the Romish clergy, of which hereafter, in Article xxxii. I may now pass on, only noticing the worthless argument sometimes adduced for calling this a sacrament, from Eph. v. 32, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν; in the Vulgate, "Sacramentum hoc magnum est." If we translate this, the argument vanishes: "This mystery is great,"—i.e. the analogy which exists between marriage and the union of Christ and the Church,—a mystery which no one denies.

Extreme Unction, called by the Council of Trent *Sacramentum exeuntium*, and said to have been *a Christo apud Marcum insinuatum*,¹ is practised by the priests of Rome upon the sick who are supposed past recovery; and it is believed to give final pardon, though the man is unconscious, with all the necessary assistance in the last agony. The oil, blessed by a bishop, is applied to the five senses, with these words: "Per hunc sacrum unctum, et suam piissimam

¹ Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv., De Sacr. Extrem. Unct. cc. 3 and 1.

misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Deus, quicquid peccasti per visum, auditum, olfactum, gustum, tactum." If this was enjoined at all in the Bible, it was not enjoined by Christ, but first heard of after His ascension. The apostles' use of oil (St. Mark vi. 13) was for bodily cures. The Romish sacrament of Extreme Unction is founded on St. James v. 14, 15. But that passage refers to the exercise of supernatural powers left at that time in the Church, not to those past recovery.¹ There is evidence to show that while this supernatural power is occasionally alluded to in ancient writers, no allusion to Extreme Unction, in its ordinary sense, is met with in writers before the Eighth century, even though the deaths of saints are often very circumstantially detailed.

There is indeed a letter of Innocentius I., in the beginning of the fifth century, which answers questions about the lawfulness of anointing the sick with the oil of chrism;² but even if it were genuine, which there is great reason to doubt, it evidently refers to anointing the sick with a view to their recovery, and thus actually shows that Extreme Unction, in the Roman Catholic sense of the term, was not even then known in the Church. Nothing again is heard of it in the forged writings of Dionysius, or in the Constitutions, though they are very full of rituals of the fourth or fifth century, the period of their composition.³ If, therefore, it was of so late introduction, it was of ecclesiastical origin, arising, as the Article says, from a corrupt following of the apostles,—from a corrupt interpretation of St. James's words. This being the case, any Church was justified on good grounds in abrogating it, considering the gross superstition to which it had led, as our Church did, when she adopted instead her Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and contented herself with that requisite commendatory prayer, used when the soul is about to depart from the body.

The remainder of the Article, though it speaks of Sacraments in the plural, is more particularly concerned with the Eucharist. It is divisible into two propositions: 1. The final cause of the institution of the sacraments—not show, but use; 2. Their effects upon persons, according to the state of their souls.

1. On the first of these points it is not necessary to say

¹ The use of oil too was very common in all the early rituals; as in Ordination, Confirmation, and Baptism.

² Innocent, Epist. i. ad Decent.

³ See Burnet on the Articles, pp. 386, 387.

much. The necessity for this proposition arose of course from the abuses into which the Church of Rome had fallen in the matter of "Processions of the Host." In theory, perhaps, they would hardly deny, and certainly many of their best private writers have allowed, that the great object for which the Sacraments were instituted was their use, whether by the Church or by individuals: that is, their being actually employed and applied to the benefit of individual men, and the increased strength of the Church; Baptism being actually enjoyed, and the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ actually received, by the faithful. They have added, it is true, as is usual with respect to all their errors to the orthodox doctrine, by the introduction of their notion about a true and proper sacrifice in the Eucharist, of which more hereafter: but the error which is here noticed is a practical one, that of exposing the sacrament to be gazed upon and to be carried about. These processions may have originated in the custom of simply carrying the sacrament to the sick, which is noticed by Justin Martyr; but coupled with the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Adoration of the Host, it has led to great superstitions, and to a forgetfulness of the true design for which it was instituted. As this error will be noticed again in Article XXVIII. we may pass over it for the present, merely observing that there is no authority for the practice in the primitive Church.

2. This proposition will also be considered under Article XXIX. It is only necessary to observe the form of the Article as it stood in 1552, with the additional words after *salutarem habent effectum*, "*idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato*;" which term is equivalent to saying that no matter what the disposition of the recipient may be, he is benefited by the mere act of receiving, or even by being present when the priest receives alone. Nay, some have said that one person may receive for another; that the priest, for instance, may receive for the people. The mere statement of such a doctrine is sufficient for its condemnation; and the single passage, 1 Cor. xi. 27-29, is all that need be quoted.

ARTICLE XXVI.

ARTICULUS XXVI.

**De hi institutionarum dibinarum
quod eam non tollit malitia
ministrorum.**

QUAMVIS in ecclesia visibili, bonis
mali semper sunt admixti, atque in-
terdum ministerio Verbi et Sacramen-
torum administrationi praesint; ta-
men cum non suo, sed Christi nomine
agent, eiusque mandato et authori-
tate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti
licet cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum
in Sacramentis percipiendis. Neque
per illorum malitiam effectus institu-
torum Christi tollitur, aut gratia
donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos
qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt,
quae propter institutionem Christi et
promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per
malos ministrantur.

Ad Ecclesiae tamen disciplinam
pertinet, ut in malos ministros in-
quiratur, accusenturque ab his, qui
eorum flagitia noverint; atque lan-
dem iusto convicti iudicio deponantur.

ARTICLE XXVI.

**Of the unworthiness of the minis-
ters, which hinders not the
effect of the Sacraments.**

ALTHOUGH in the visible Church
the evil be ever mingled with the good,
and sometimes the evil have chief
authority in the Ministration of the
Word and Sacraments, yet forasmuch
as they do not the same in their own
name, but in Christ's, and do minis-
ter by his commission and authority,
we may use their Ministry, both in
hearing the Word of God and in re-
ceiving of the Sacraments. Neither
is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken
away by their wickedness, nor the
grace of God's gifts diminished from
such as by faith and rightly do re-
ceive the sacraments ministered unto
them; which be effectual, because of
Christ's institution and promise, al-
though they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the
discipline of the Church, that enquiry
be made of evil Ministers, and that
they be accused by those that have
knowledge of their offences; and
finally being found guilty, by just
judgement be deposed.

THIS Article is practically the same in all three editions,
and the English exactly represents the Latin version.

It is directed, not against the Romanists, but against
those who, on the ground of the acknowledged abuses of the
Church of Rome, were inclined to go all lengths in exag-
gerating every evil of Popery, and who considered whatever
the Romanists touched to be defiled. There can be no doubt
that the general tone of profligacy among the clergy, which

the Romish system, particularly with regard to the celibacy of the priests, had engendered and encouraged, was a very serious proof of the degeneracy to which that Church had been brought: it was perhaps enough to make men doubt whether a Church which could protect and further such views was not gradually losing its hold upon the truth itself. If a man may be known by his fruits, so may Churches likewise. As an argument, therefore, against the indefectibility of Rome, the general profligacy of her priesthood must have considerable weight, because if practice is corrupt, so will in proportion be the principles. And again, against the infallibility of the Popes it was a good argument to point to the long series of monsters, recorded by Roman Catholic historians, who at one time sat upon the papal throne; to the heretics, schismatics, simonists, and profligates, who, according to the Roman theory, had all law locked up in their breasts. But when, over and above this, the ultra-Reformers proceeded to deny the effect of prayer and of the sacraments when administered by wicked ministers, it was plain that they were destroying the very certainty of any man's valid baptism, because no man could say whether he were a hypocrite or no who administered it; and it was certain of every one that he is at least a miserable sinner. Our Church has here shown her usual moderation and good sense in refusing to run the length of such Reformers, being well aware of the difficulties to which this notion must lead.

Some analogous notions appear to have existed in the early Church. St. Cyprian, otherwise an orthodox writer, as he was a noble martyr, fell into an error like this, when he rebaptized heretics, his notion being that there was some unworthiness in the minister who had performed the rite.

The case of the Donatists is still more in point. The origin of the heresy, A.D. 312, was about the appointment of a bishop of Carthage; first, because the bishop had not been appointed with the consent of all the Churches in the district, but more particularly because the new bishop, Cæcilianus, was a man in some respects of immoral character, who had, moreover, been consecrated by a *traditor*. The leading persons who objected to Cæcilianus were two of the name of Donatus; and they argued that, if this consecration were allowed, all the ordinances of the Church, even sacraments, must lose their proper effect. Their numbers may be estimated by the fact that they had 400 bishops. Their chief opponent was Augustine, whose argument would exactly apply to the doctrine of our Church.

Of moderns, there is little doubt that Wickliff, in the fourteenth century, held a doctrine equivalent to that condemned in our Article. It is not worth while going into this at length, because however eminent Wickliff may have been, as giving the first blow towards the Reformation, our Church is in nowise responsible for his private opinions. Amongst other propositions of his condemned by the Council of Constance was this: "If a bishop or priest live in mortal sin, he ordaineth not, he baptizeth not, he consecrateth not."

The Anabaptists, of whom the modern Quakers are amongst the representatives, at the time of the Reformation, ran into this error. Luther says of them, "*Propter hominum vitia vel indignitatem*" (our own word) "*damnant verum baptismum.*" In short, their theory was that the visible Church must be perfect in fact as well as in idea. The Confession of Augsburg, the Helvetic, the Zuinglian, and the Scotch (though this last not so heartily), concur with us in condemning the doctrine.

The proof need not take long; indeed, the reason given in the Article speaks for itself. It is not the men who minister, but Christ that institutes these ordinances; not in their own name, but in His commission, that their efficacy must be sought—just as the validity of an ambassador's acts is not tested by his character, supposing he has the requisite credentials, but by the will of his sovereign. Passages of Scripture bearing on the subject are (by analogy), St. Matt. vii. 22, xxiii. 2; 1 Cor. iii. 5-7, ix. 27; Phil. i. 15.

Perhaps the best argument is the *reductio ad absurdum*: If open sin vitiate prayer and the sacraments, then also must secret sins; if a certain number of sins do it, then what number? whether open or secret; if worthiness is required, what man is worthy? if no man is worthy, how shall the religion be carried on at all? and if no one can answer any of these questions, what certainty has a man, not only whether he really has received the grace of the Communion, or the benefit of public prayer, which might apparently be remedied by leaving the administration of the wicked priest? what certainty has a man of his very baptism, a sacrament which it is sacrilege to repeat?

The uncertainty produced by this view of the ultra-Reformers reminds me just to mention a parallel error of the Church of Rome respecting the intention of the minister. It is a received tenet in the Church of Rome, that unless the officiating priest *intends* to consecrate, whether he makes a mistake as to a definite number of hosts which he intends

to consecrate, or whether he wilfully withholds his intention, no consecration takes place.¹

The remainder of the Article speaks for itself.

¹ See Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, p. 231 ; and the Roman Missal, De Defectibus circa Missam occurrentibus, No. 7. "Si quis non intendit conficere, sed delusorie aliquid agere. Item si aliquæ hostiæ ex oblivione remaneant in altari, vel aliqua pars vini vel aliqua hostia lateat, cum non intendat consecrare nisi quas videt. Item si quis habeat coram se undecim hostias sed intendat consecrare solum decem, non determinans quas decem intendit ; in his casibus non consecrat, quia requiritur intentio." It should be observed, that the same intention is also considered necessary to the validity of Holy Baptism.

ARTICLE XXVII.

ARTICULUS XXVII.

De Baptismo.

BAPTISMUS non est tantum professionis signum, ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod, tanquam per instrumentum, recte Baptismum suscipientes Ecclesiae inseruntur, promissiones de remissione peccatorum, atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter obsignantur, fides confirmatur, et vi divinae invocationis gratia augetur.

Baptismus parvulorum omnino in Ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optime congruat.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Of Baptism.

BAPTISM is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of Regeneration or new Birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and Grace increased by virtue of Prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

WE come now to one of the most important Articles of our Church, that which treats of the great initiatory sacrament of Christianity, those opposed to us here being not Roman Catholics, but those who have gone into the opposite extreme; those who are predisposed to reject all mysteries as such, and think it quite a sufficient objection to any given doctrine that it is unintelligible or inconsistent with what they call reason, a class of men which comprehends many, as it regards this subject of Baptism, who themselves least suspect their rationalistic tendency, and who would be shocked at discovering themselves rationalists; and who on other subjects, as, for instance, that of the Trinity, do submit their understanding to God's truth. It is my duty, then, at the outset, to recommend you to discard all antecedent objections on the subject before us, all speculation as to the *modus operandi*, to consider not what was *a priori* probable,

but that which is true ; not what human and finite capacities can grasp or devise or anticipate ; but what a Being of infinite perfections has said and done. The whole scheme of our redemption, in the widest acceptation of the term, in the whole and in each part of it, is not of our choosing or devising, but of God's free gift ; the privileges offered rest upon the foundation, not of human judgment, but of infinite wisdom, who has thought proper, out of an infinite variety of possible conditions and means at His disposal, to choose out certain conditions and means, often very simple in themselves, and from their very simplicity less acceptable to the proud heart of the natural man ; and to associate ordinarily certain consequences to certain antecedents, certain privileges to certain conditions, certain ends to certain means,—I say to associate, and not to tie, since "*Gratia non ligatur mediis*." Thus the fall of man turned upon the choice of Adam and Eve to eat or to abstain from the forbidden fruit ; this truth is exactly what the natural man rejects on account of the apparently trifling nature of the temptation ; or in the case before us Regeneration, *i.e.* a death unto sin, is promised to the use of a little water and a few mysterious words ; and the natural man rejects the doctrine because the means seem so simple, because they are not what he himself would have chosen. Surely such scepticism as this, that would always ask with Nicodemus, "How can these things be?" is the same in kind as that which rejects the Trinity.

To return to the details of the Article. For the expression "a sign of *regeneration* or new birth," the edition of 1562 had "a signe *and seale* of our newe birthe;" and in the edition of 1552 the last clause ran as follows: "The custome of the Church to christen yonge children is to bee commended, and in any wise to be retained in the Church."

Consider the first paragraph throughout, and observe that we must take it as a whole, we must not take part and reject part. Now see how different the result would have been if the sentence had stopped short at "regeneration." "Baptism is not only a sign of profession, but of regeneration." This, however, is not so, and the sentence goes on. Let us therefore consider its grammatical construction.

Much will depend upon attention to the phrase, "Whereby, as by an instrument." Now this is one of the places where the advantage is seen of comparing the Latin and the English Articles together. If this English form had been our only guide, we might have had some difficulty in determining the antecedent to "whereby;" it might have been the word "regeneration," or the word "sign;" and the difference

between these would have been great; but turning to the Latin we see at once that the only possible antecedent is "*signum*," which antecedent stands as predicate to the sentence of which Baptism is the subject; and the grammatical result of all this is that Baptism is predicated as a sign of regeneration, and not a sign simply of it, but that kind of sign of it which, without ceasing to be a sign, is also and simultaneously a means and an instrument, by which certain specified effects are wrought. In order to make this more apparent, it will be right to repeat, as the grammar of the sentence requires, the words "whereby, as by an instrument," before each of the following clauses: "whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church;" "whereby, as by an instrument, the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly (as by an outward visible means) signed and sealed;" "whereby, as by an instrument, faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God." And all these consequences are by the force of the grammar referred back to Baptism as the means, *i.e.* it is by Baptism as an instrument that all these effects are produced.

One observation is still required to make the case quite clear. The word Baptism has three meanings, meanings quite consistent with each other, but of greater or of less extent. It, first, often means the whole practical truth contained in the words; the means and the end, the outward and visible sign and the grace signified; the water with the words of institution and the new birth or regeneration; secondly, it is often restricted to the outward and visible sign and means, *i.e.* the rite of Baptism with water and certain words; or, thirdly, and less frequently, it is used to denote the inward and spiritual grace. Of these three meanings the one to be adopted here is clearly the second, the rite of Baptism with water and the mention of the Holy Trinity. The analysis we have just gone through traces certain effects to the use of the instrumental means and sign, and that sign is Baptism, which therefore can neither here signify exclusively nor include the inward grace.

It is clear, then, that our Church in this Article lays the greatest stress upon regeneration as the effect of Holy Baptism; and in so doing she is quite consistent with her own teaching in Article XXV., where you will remember that the stress was laid upon "*signa efficacia*," the full proof of which assertion we reserved for our present Article, and for Article XXVIII. In this Article, again, as well as in XXVIII., the sentence begins with "not only." "Sacraments be not only,"

“Baptism is not only,” “The Supper of the Lord is not only” —“a sign.” The implied proposition in all these cases is, “It is a sign, but it is more.”

The first paragraph, then, is divisible into three main propositions—

1. Baptism is a sign of profession.

2. It is a sign of regeneration.

3. It is an instrument of regeneration, described and included under five aspects :

(a.) It is an instrument, visible, of incorporation with the Church.

(b.) It is an instrument by which the promises of remission and adoption are ratified and take effect.

(c.) It is an instrument which brings to pass the divine promise of adoption as God’s sons.

(d.) It is an instrument for the strengthening of faith.

(e.) It is an instrument for the increase of grace.

1. That Baptism is a sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are or may be discerned from others who are not christened, requires no proof. The fact that the very word “christened” used popularly is equivalent to the technical word “baptized” is proof enough. That is, of course, if we understand it to be Christian Baptism, such as is administered with water in the name of the Holy Trinity ; for otherwise it would not be a mark of distinction, inasmuch as even the Jews required their proselytes to be baptized.

2. Moreover, it will be granted on all hands that it is an emblem of purity, the outward washing an emblem of inward washing ; and by Christians it will be allowed to be an emblem also of regeneration or new birth, a visible representation, particularly when done in the more ancient way by immersion, of the burial of the old man of sin, and the rising of the new man or new creature, “which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.”¹

The point of which many persons seem not to be aware is that, according to the teaching of our Church, both in her Articles and in her other formularies, Baptism is an instrumental means of regeneration, as described in the latter clauses of the paragraph. Now, before we proceed to the proof of this proposition, it may be advisable to compare the Article with other parts of our Church’s teaching, to show how consistently and deliberately she has embraced this doctrine, in common with all ancient Churches—nay, in

¹ Eph. iv. 24.

common with the great Reformers ; and it will then be seen what the facts of her doctrine are. She may, previously to proof, be considered right or wrong,—we may agree with her or not ; but the fact of her so teaching will be undeniably certain.

(i.) And I would refer you first to that incidental proof of her view which occurred in Article IX., where *renatis* and *baptizatis* are used as convertible terms.

(ii.) The Church Catechism, where the benefits of Baptism are described as “a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness.”

(iii.) The Baptismal Service, including the Office for Private Baptism, where the child is expressly declared to be “by Baptism regenerate.” The prayers for regeneration uttered previously to the act of Baptism are analogous to the prayer in the Eucharistic Service previous to the reception of the Holy Communion.

(iv.) The Confirmation Service : “Almighty and ever-living God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost.”

(v.) The Collect for the Nativity : “We, being regenerate, and made thy children by adoption.”

(vi.) The Homily of Salvation, part i. : “Infants, being baptized and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice” (of Christ on the cross) “washed from their sins, brought to God’s favour, and made His children, and inheritors of His kingdom of heaven.” With this may be compared the rubric at the end of the Baptismal Service.

(vii.) The testimony of Continental Reformers strikingly confirms this view. Luther says, “Sum factus salvus, sum filius Dei, et haeres Dei, *quia* sum baptizatus.”¹ Melancthon again, “Baptismus infantium defensus et ornatus est multorum scriptis apud nos. . . . Sentimus eos in Baptismo fieri filios Dei, accipere Spiritum Sanctum, et manere in gratia Dei, tamdiu quod non effundunt eum peccatis actualibus.”²

In what remains to be said on this Article it is by no means my intention to lead you into the thorny paths of controversy, but having simply stated as a fact the result of our Church’s teaching, to show that her teaching is in accordance with Scripture and Christian antiquity. I shall begin, therefore, by stating the proof of the proposition which is involved in the words which led me to this digression,

¹ Luther, Op. vol. vi. p. 553.

² Melancthon, Op. vol. iv. p. 664, both quoted from Lawrence, Bampton Lect. p. 157.

i.e. that Baptism is not only a sign but an instrumental means of regeneration, or of a moral resurrection, or the beginning of a new life, or a state of forgiveness of sin, or a state of adoption as God's sons, or a state of grace; for after all it is not the words that we are contending for, but the thing.

Now this regeneration implies a forsaking of our first birth, of our natural life, of that to which we were born by nature; the essence of which is condemnation or wrath, of which we were children¹—in other words, “a death unto sin;” and the acquisition of a new birth, a new beginning of spiritual life, the essence of which is justification, by which we become children of grace. Now, these two elements may be separable in thought, but they are identical or simultaneous in fact; the same act of Holy Baptism, by God's appointment (for remember that all intrinsic efficacy in the water or the mere act is disclaimed), produces both effects at once; and so in the scriptural proofs we shall often find both jointly mentioned. Our natural state derived from Adam is a state of spiritual death, our spiritual state as Christians derived from Christ is life, and we pass at once from a state of death to a state of life in Baptism.

I shall proceed to give a selection of plain texts to this purport as to the correctness of the term regeneration when used to describe this beginning of a new life, as wrought in us by God's power, and through His appointment in Holy Baptism; and I shall afterwards offer some texts for the several particular elements of this new state, described as following the acceptance of the sign of regeneration.

First, St. John iii. 5: “Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.” From this verse the expressions are evidently taken in the first exhortation of the Baptismal Service: “Except he be regenerate, and born again of water and of the Holy Ghost;” and, “that he may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost.” There can be no doubt that our Lord spoke these words of Baptism by anticipation. In 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, we have a description of the unregenerate man, and in the following verse the regenerate are described: “Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.” The same combination is found in Acts xxii. 16: “Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins”—*ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου*. The account again in Col. ii. 11-14, cannot mean that we were literally

¹ Eph. ii. 3.

buried with Christ in His grave, but buried with Him in Baptism; like as He was buried literally, so we are buried spiritually; the analogy being at once evident, if the ancient form by immersion is considered. The baptized person, whilst under the water, was reckoned by St. Paul to be buried with Christ; and when he emerged out of the water, according to St. Paul's view, he typically represented Christ's resurrection; Christ's removal to glory being typically represented by the dead son of Adam rising to Christ's life in holiness.

Observe in this passage the force of the words, "being dead in your sins, and in the uncircumcision of your flesh," which must clearly be interpreted by analogy, "the unbaptized state of your flesh," according to the well-established analogy between Circumcision, the initiatory rite of the Jews, and Baptism, the initiatory rite of Christianity.

This interpretation, again, is confirmed by Romans vi. 3-6. The argument of the Apostle is to show that those who have been made Christians should not continue in sin, from whose dominion they have been freed; and the meaning of the passage is evidently this, that having been once regenerated, they should not forfeit the privileges and power of their regeneration,—they should not become dead again, any more than Christ, who "being raised from the dead dieth no more, death hath no more dominion over Him;" and thus also sin having been once abolished in Baptism, they should not allow it to live again in them; that being once regenerated, they should remain in a regenerate state, or, as our Church expresses it, they should "lead the rest of their lives according to this beginning,"—continue in the state of salvation.¹ To these passages we may add Titus iii. 5: *ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς, διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως Πνεύματος Ἁγίου*; Heb. x. 22, Eph. v. 25-27, 1 St. Peter iii. 21, in all of which sanctification is closely connected in one form or other with washing.

Having thus far treated of the subject in general, as to what is the inward and spiritual grace in Baptism, we proceed to mention the different particulars which are the principal characteristics of it mentioned in the Articles.

3. (*a.*) It is an instrument of grafting into or incorporation with the Church; that is, into the one living spiritual body on earth of which Christ in heaven is the head; from whom life flows into the whole body. In other words, we

¹ With this passage from the Epistle to the Romans may be compared Eph. ii. 3 *sqq.*

become Christians. This is clear from St. Matt. xxviii. 19, *μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*; 1 Cor. xii. 13, 27, Gal. iii. 27, Col. iii. 9, 10.

(b.) It is an instrument by which the promises of remission of sins are ratified and take effect. This is shown by St. Mark i. 4, compared with St. Matt. iii. 11; by Acts ii. 38, xxii. 16, with which may be compared 1 Cor. vi. 11.

(c.) It is an instrument which brings to pass the divine promise of adoption as God's sons—Gal. iii. 26, 27.

(d.) It is an instrument for strengthening faith. This is a corollary from the foregoing, for whatever seals and brings to pass God's promises must confirm faith; or, again, whatever gives us the Holy Spirit, does *ipso facto* strengthen faith by the influence of the Holy Spirit thus implanted, but Baptism is that of water and the Spirit, and the fruit of the Spirit is, *inter alia*, faith.

(e.) It is an instrument for the increase of grace. This is also self-evidently a corollary, for grace is the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, and St. John iii. 5,—“Except a man be born of water and the Spirit,”—shows that the Holy Spirit is co-operative in the work of Baptism.

So far for proofs from Scripture, which are quite sufficient for us. But the Fathers put on them the same interpretation:—

Origen (A.D. 230): “Mortuus in peccatis descendisti, et ascendis vivificatus in iustitia.”¹ “Per Baptismi sacramentum nativitatis sordes deponuntur.”²

Chrysostom (A.D. 398): *Ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα περιτομή, βαπτίσματος λέγω χάρις*, hath a cure without pain, and brings us innumerable good things, and fills us with the grace of the Holy Spirit, and hath not a set time, as was the case with circumcision under the law, but it is lawful for any man in his infancy, middle age, or old age, to receive this circumcision made without hands, wherein we do not undergo labour, but lay aside the burden of our sins, and find forgiveness of our faults committed at all times.”³ And again: “As the Body of Christ, buried in the earth, brought forth its fruit, in the salvation of the world, so also our body, being buried in Baptism, brought forth fruit, even righteousness, sanctification, adoption, *τὰ μυρία ἀγαθὰ*.”⁴

Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348): *Τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ καθαίρει τὸ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα σφραγίζει τὴν ψυχὴν*.⁵

¹ Orig. in Luc. 2 Hom. 14.

² *Ibid.*

³ Chrys. in Gen. Hom. 40.

⁴ Chrys. in Rom. Hom. 11.

⁵ Cyrill. Hier. Catech. 3.

Augustine (A.D. 395): "Sicut in momento uno fit illa in Baptismo renovatio, remissione omnium peccatorum, neque enim vel unum quantulumcunque remanet, quod non remittatur."¹

Gregory I. (A.D. 590): "Qui dicit peccata in baptismo funditus non dimitti, dicat in mari rubro Aegyptios non veraciter mortuos."²

Further instances might be adduced without end.

To justify the use of the term regeneration see Justin Martyr (A.D. 155): "Afterwards they are brought to a place where there is water; and after the same manner of regeneration that we are regenerated by are they also regenerated."³

Chrysostom: "By water we are regenerated, by flesh and blood we are fed."⁴

Athanasius: "He that is baptized puts off the old man, and is renewed, as being regenerated by the grace of the Spirit."⁵

All this is amply sufficient to show the fact of the early Church's view, and to justify our Church in the use which she has made of the word consistently in all her formularies. We might here adopt St. Jerome's words: "Dies deficiet si cuncta quae ad potentiam Baptismi pertinent, de Scripturis sanctis voluero digerere, et nativitatis secundae, immo in Christo primae, ponere sacramenta."⁶

What then, it may be asked, is the difficulty in this question? It appears to me to turn in most cases upon the ambiguous sense of the term regeneration. I do not say in all, for there are some doubtless who believe that there is no change wrought in Baptism, but that it is a mere sign of profession, or of entrance into the Church. In order to state clearly what this ambiguity consists in, I will read a short passage which I wrote on a former occasion:—"By some divines regeneration is understood to mean 'a change in the heart of man, and, by consequence, of his whole character'; 'a change of the whole man in every part and faculty thereof from a state of sinful nature to a state of supernatural grace.'⁷ Understood in this sense, the word has never been applied to describe the immediate effects of Baptism. The other and the orthodox sense is 'a release from a state of condemnation,

¹ August. de Trin. xiv. xvii. 23.

³ Just. Apol. i. 61.

⁵ Athan. i. 705.

⁶ Hieron. ad Oceanum, vol. iv. part 2, p. 652.

⁷ Dwight.

² Greg. Epist. ix. 39.

⁴ Chrysost. in Joh. 85.

⁸ Bishop Hopkins.

a reconciliation to God, adoption as His children ; a death unto sin, and (as the very term implies) a new birth unto righteousness, and by consequence, a change of *relation* and *capacity* from the natural state of wrath to the spiritual inheritance of grace.' This is the sense in which, from the very beginning, the term regeneration has been associated with Baptism. If this distinction could be borne in mind, the two contending parties might approximate towards a harmony of opinion. As it is, they are too often contending about different things under the same name."¹

Infant Baptism.—This seems a corollary from the first paragraph : for if Baptism is a means of regeneration, by which the children of wrath in Adam are made children of grace in Christ, then it follows that young children should also be born again. At the time this Article was written, so entirely was the baptism of young children retained, that there was no office for the baptism of adults till the year 1661, when it was introduced in order to admit Quakers, Baptists, etc. ; and also to serve for the use of missionaries. We may here remark upon the moderate and wise tone in which this doctrine is expressed by our Church. It ought to be in any wise "retained," a word which, while it implies that it had always existed in the Church, yet expresses no compulsion : and the same is conveyed by the further phrase that it "is most agreeable to the institution of Christ."

The sentence in question contains a proposition and a reason : "the baptism of young children is to be retained ; because it is most agreeable to the institution of Christ." A strong argument in favour of the practice is to be derived from the analogy of circumcision on the eighth day. If children might be admitted so early to the Jewish covenant, why not also to the Christian covenant ?

The proposition may be inferred from Acts ii. 38, 39, "The promise is unto you, and to your children ;" 1 Cor. vii. 14, "Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy ;" and from the Apostles baptizing whole households, Acts xvi. 15, 33, 1 Cor. i. 16.

The reason is evident from the command of our Lord to suffer little children to come unto Him, St. Matt. xix. 14 ; and from the injunction to the Apostles in St. Matt. xxviii. 19. This was spoken to Jews, who were accustomed to the washing of children under the law, and therefore must include them. Suppose the command had been, Go and cir-

¹ Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, p. 31.

cumcise all nations, the Israelites would clearly understand it to include children. If a Baptist congregation were to send out a missionary "to baptize all the Indians," it would be a breach of that commission if he, a Baptist missionary, were to baptize children; whereas it would be equally unjustifiable, relatively, if an English missionary did not baptize such; and so the commission in St. Matt. xxviii. 19 must be interpreted from the point of view of the Jews, to whom it was addressed.

The testimonies of the Fathers to this point are in a manner innumerable; they are witnesses to a matter of fact, *i.e.* that in their day the custom was universal without exception.

Origen says: "Parvuli baptizantur in remissionem peccatorum. . . . Et quia per baptismi sacramentum nativitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli."¹ So Augustine: "Quia de ovibus eius non esse incipiunt parvuli, nisi per baptismum, profecto si hoc non accipiunt, peribunt;"² and he spends a whole chapter in another treatise in proving that children are washed, freed and saved from original sin by the price of Christ's blood in Baptism.³ Again, Cyprian argues that an infant especially ought not to be kept back from Baptism: "qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquae prima nativitate contraxit, qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur, non propria, sed aliena peccata."⁴

To all this the only answer that can be opposed is that the child cannot understand the covenant, and cannot have either repentance or faith. Yet under the Mosaic law an infant could and did enter into a covenant, and why not therefore in Baptism?

That faith and repentance are not active in the infant is of course granted; but he has at least forgiveness of his original sin: of actual sins he has committed none to repent of; and though he has no qualification by faith, he has no disqualification from unbelief; there is no obstacle to the grace.

It is of course easy to cavil at the child's want of capacity; but those only will do it who misunderstand the real nature of Baptism.

¹ Origen, in Luc. Hom. xiv.

² Aug. de Peccat. meritis, i. 27.

³ Id. in Jul. Pelag. iii. 3.

⁴ Cypr. ad Fidum, epist. lxiv. 3.

We do not say that the practice is theoretically unobjectionable: but of two inconveniences, on one side the delay of the grace in Baptism, and on the other the want of active qualification and understanding, we choose that which is least perilous, and we do our best to guard against the inconveniences which our rational choice involves, by the use of sponsors.

It should be stated that Baptism was sometimes delayed in the Primitive Church, as in the case of St. Augustine himself, generally from the great fear of sin committed after it.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

ARTICULUS XXVIII.

De Coena Domini.

COENA Domini non est tantum signum mutuae benevolentiae Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est Sacramentum nostrae per mortem Christi redemptionis.

Atque adeo, rite, digne, et cum fide sumentibus, panis quam frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis, est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et Vini Transsubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest. Sed apertis Scripturae verbis adversatur, Sacramenti naturam evertit, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in Coena, tantum coelesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo corpus Christi accipitur et manducatur in Coena, fides est.

Sacramentum Eucharistiae ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

Of the Lord's Supper.

THE Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another: but rather is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

IN comparing the Latin of this Article with the English the only thing noticeable is that "Eucharistia" is twice used as equivalent to the "Lord's Supper."

In the paragraph about Transubstantiation, the edition of 1562 has "*perverteth* the nature of a Sacrament;" while that of 1552 wants this clause, but contains another paragraph, afterwards omitted, as follows: "Forasmuche as the trueth of mannes nature requireth, that the bodie of one and the selfsame manne cannot be at one time in divers places,

but must nedes be in some one certaine place : therefore the bodie of Christ cannot bee presente at one time in many and diverse places. And because (as holie Scripture doeth teache) Christe was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the ende of the worlde, a faithful man ought not either to beleve, or openlie to confesse the reall and bodilie presence (as thai terme it) of Christe's fleshe and bloude, in the sacramente of the Lordes supper." The earlier editions also described transubstantiation as "the change of the substance of bread and wine *into the* substance of Christ's body:" and also for "partaking" in the first paragraph they have "communion."

The title is derived from 1 Cor. xi. 20, where it is called *Κυριακὸν δείπνον*. It is also called in Scripture *τράπεζα Κυρίου*, 1 Cor. x. 21; *εὐλογία* or *εὐχαριστία*, 1 Cor. x. 16 *κοινωνία*, *ibid.*, and *κλάσις ἄρτου*, Acts ii. 42, xx. 7. In the Fathers we find also the names *σύναξις*, *λειτουργία*, *θυσία*, *ἀγαπή*, *μυστήριον*.

It will be remembered that under Article xxv., that was asserted generally of sacraments which is here asserted particularly of the Lord's Supper, as in the last Article about Baptism, that they are *not only signs*, etc.

The Article consists of four paragraphs:—

1 *a.* The Supper of the Lord is a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves. This requires little proof, as it is self-evident, and indeed is not denied by any who call themselves Christians.

β. But it is something more: a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death, an outward and visible sign and means of our enjoying the benefits of Christ's passion; the result and full efficacy of which is specified in the later part of the paragraph. This was denied by Zuinglius, who taught that the Eucharist is a bare commemoration, and the bread and wine mere symbols to remind us of Christ's Body and Blood. The proof of this proposition is very compendious. As regards the external part, it is found in St. Matt. xxvi. 26; St. Mark xiv. 22; St. Luke xxii. 19;¹ 1 Cor. xi. 23; Acts ii. 42, xx. 7; St. Luke xxiv. 30, 35. As regards the internal part or spiritual grace, in 1 Cor. x. 16, 21, xi. 20; St. Luke xxii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 26; to which may be added, as probably bearing on the subject, St. John vi. 51.

¹ It is noticeable that in St. John's Gospel there is no account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, though there are evident allusions to it in c. xiii. Perhaps c. vi., which points to it by anticipation, as clearly as iii. 5 to Baptism, was intended as a sort of substitute.

The three Gospels then, and St. Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 23, speak of the outward sign as ordained by Christ—His command—one of those things which the Church was always to observe and teach.

This is confirmed by the testimony of the Fathers.

Justin Martyr (A.D. 155) says, *Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα τοῦτο λαμβάνομεν*; but as our Saviour Jesus Christ was incarnate through the Word of God, and had both body and blood for our salvation, thus also we have been taught that the food, which has been blessed by the prayer of the word proceeding from Him (*τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαρισθεῖσαν τροφήν*), by which our blood and flesh are by transmutation nourished, is both the flesh and the blood of that incarnate Jesus."¹

Irenæus (A.D. 184) says, *Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβάνόμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' Εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιτελείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου*.²

Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 350) says, *Μετὰ πάσης πληροφoρίας, ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνωμεν Χριστοῦ. Ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτου, δίδονται σοι τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου δίδονται σοι τὸ αἷμα· ἵνα γένη, μεταλαβὼν σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ, σύσσωμος καὶ σύναιμος αὐτοῦ*.³

S. Hilarius (A.D. 354) says, "De veritate carnis et sanguinis non relictus est ambigendi locus: nunc enim et ipsius Domini professione et fide nostra vere caro est et vere sanguis est: et haec accepta atque hausta id efficiunt ut et nos in Christo, et Christus in nobis sit."⁴

All this exactly tallies with and justifies the tenet as expressed by our Church elsewhere: "The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

But while our Church on these grounds and in the spiritual sense holds the real reception by the faithful⁵ of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, she is very far indeed from countenancing the corresponding error which has sprung out of the true doctrine: she condemns in express terms the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Now to go into this error at full length is manifestly impossible in these Lectures. It has been shown by our greatest divines over and over again that it is neither a scriptural nor

¹ Just. Apol. i. 86.

² Iren. adv. Haer. iv. 34.

³ Cyrill. Hier. Catech. iv. 3.

⁴ Hilar. de Trin. viii.

⁵ The term faithful here means, not as Romanizers would say, *Christi fideles*, i.e. Christians, opposed to Jews, but those who have faith, implying that the presence of Christ is subjective, and not objective.

a catholic truth; it cannot be found in Holy Writ; and it was never held as deducible from Scripture in any of the ancient branches of the Apostolic Church: it receives no countenance either from the official acts or from the individual writers of the early Church: indeed, it has been shown conclusively that for more than six centuries neither the name nor the doctrine was ever so much as heard of.¹ Transubstantiation is not an old but a new doctrine, first enun-
 tiated as an article of faith in the Lateran Council of A.D. 1215.

Transubstantiation means the change of the whole substance of the bread and wine, after consecration, into the substance of the body and blood of Christ: and that notwithstanding the appearance, or what the Schoolmen call the accidents, of bread and wine is still there. The substance of bread and wine is wholly gone, and that of Christ's body and blood substituted in its room.²

This doctrine, as the Article teaches, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, and this is confessed by some of the Romish controversialists themselves; for instance, Bishop Fisher, speaking of the words of institution, says, "*Neque ullum verbum hic positum est, quo probatur in nostra missa veram fieri carnis et sanguinis Christi praesentiam.*" And he adds, "*Non potest igitur per ullam Scripturam probari.*"³ And besides this, even of those who attempt to prove it on scriptural grounds, hardly two ever agree upon the method of explaining the Scripture.⁴

Two passages only are adduced, if we set aside such proofs as that from St. John ii. 9, which some call the transubstantiation of water into wine, the water after the change not however appearing to be water; and 1 Cor. xi. 29, "not discerning the Lord's body"—*μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου*. These two are St. John vi. 53-58, and St. Matt. xxvi. 26.

Now it is by no means necessary to suppose that the first of these passages does allude by anticipation to the sacrament, and even if it does, it lends not the slightest strength to the Romish tenet, though it exactly corresponds to the

¹ See Bramhall, vol. i. p. 14.

² Conc. Trid. Sess. xiii. c. 4. (Oct. 11, 1551): "*Persuasum semper in ecclesia Dei fuit, idque nunc denuo haec sancta synodus declarat, per consecrationem panis et vini conversionem fieri totius substantiae panis in substantiam corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiae vini in substantiam sanguinis eius. Quae conversio convenienter et proprie a sancta catholica ecclesia transsubstantiatio est appellata.*"

³ Fisherus, contra captivitatem Babyloniam, c. 10, p. 226; ap. Jewel, ii. 321.

⁴ Jewel, ii. 322.

view of the Church of England; but it has been doubted by many how far this passage applies to the Sacrament at all. Even Nicolas Lyra (in Psalm cx.), or rather an authority quoted by him, admits that these words in St. John "nil directe pertinent ad sacramentum." At all events, our Lord carefully guarded us against the error into which the Romanists have fallen, by adding "the flesh profiteth nothing, the words which I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life;"¹ the meaning of which words is thus paraphrased by St. Augustine: "Understand spiritually what I have said, it is not this body which you see that you will eat; not that blood which my murderers will shed that you will drink. I have declared to you a certain sacrament. Being spiritually understood, it gives you life. Although it is necessary that it be visibly celebrated, yet it must needs be invisibly understood."² Again, Tertullian: "Durum et intolerabilem existimant sermonem eius, quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam daturus esset."³ And so many others of the Fathers.

Neither do the words of institution give the least countenance to this error. "For even if we were to grant that there may be little weight in the physical objections, that the bread could hardly be Christ's natural body, while He was yet alive, whilst His body was not yet broken; that He could not hold His own body in His hand, with which He brake and gave the bread,⁴ there are difficulties in the very construction of the sentence which, even upon Romish principles, make the literal interpretation untenable. On the meaning of the pronoun *τοῦτο* the Romanists themselves are not agreed; but granting that it may be grammatically referred to 'bread,' *τὸν ἄρτον*, yet, seeing that the real question turns upon the signification of the verb 'is,' the Romanist is not a whit nearer to his object; and, indeed, the more literal the grammatical construction, the greater, in a doctrinal point of view, is his embarrassment; for he does not mean, as he would himself tell you, that the bread *is* the body of Christ, but that it is changed into His body; that the bread is no longer there, whatever appearance there may be of bread, whatever properties may still remain, such as are tested by the five senses, but that the body is there *sensibly* in its place. Yet how this meaning can be extracted from the words, upon what principle of literal interpretation

¹ St. John vi. 53.

² August. on Ps. xcvi. sec. 9.

³ Tertull. de Resurrec. Carnis, c. 37.

⁴ See this argument drawn out by Jer. Taylor, Real Presence, sec. 7.

the verb 'is' can be made equivalent to the verb '*is changed into*,' it is for the advocates of transubstantiation to declare, when they are themselves agreed upon the point. On the other hand, the ancient Catholic Fathers, in a manner universally, expound the passage in a figurative sense. For instance, St. Augustine says, 'The Lord did not hesitate to say, This is my body, when He was giving the sign of His body;'¹ and again Tertullian, 'Hoc est corpus meum: hoc est figura corporis mei.'² But a still more decisive commentary is that left us by St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. These words are evidently the commentary upon those of our Lord in the words of institution, which are also repeated by the Apostle himself. The Apostle's saying, 'The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' is a commentary on our Lord's own words, 'Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you,' and again, when after supper he took the cup, saying, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood, etc.,' we are taught what that cup is by the words, 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?'"³

So much then for the only two scriptural passages which can be adduced with any show of reason on the Romanist side; and if we consult the records of the early Church, we shall find the doctrine of Transubstantiation equally untenable.

Of course some apparent authorities may be produced, considering that the Fathers, like the Church of England, which follows them, held the real reception of the body and blood of Christ by the faithful,⁴ that is, the real mystical and sacramental and spiritual reception: a doctrine which leads them to speak very highly of the dignity and efficacy of this sacrament. Yet it is observable that the very Fathers who exalt the greatness of the mystery in their rhetorical works, are most careful in their didactic works to guard against⁵ any

¹ August. c. Adeimantum, c. 12.

² Tertull. c. Marcionem, iv. 40.

³ This paragraph, with slight alteration, is taken from Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, p. 181, etc.

⁴ That this is so, that faith in the recipients is necessary, see Article xxix.

⁵ *E.g.* Augustine, de Doct. Christ. xvi. 24: "Si praeceptiva locutio est aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam iubens, non est figurata. Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur iubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. 'Nisi manducaveritis,' inquit, 'carnem filii hominis, et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis' (Joann. vi. 54). Facinus vel flagitium videtur iubere; figura est ergo, praeicipiens passioni dominicae communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria quod pro nobis caro eius crucifixae et vulnerata sit."

carnal objective interpretation like that which, in after times, was invented by the Church of Rome. These testimonies to the spiritual truth, as held by ourselves, are the more valuable because they are undesigned, occurring incidentally, not as directed against the error of transubstantiation, which did not then exist, but as the expression of known and universally acknowledged truth, used for proof against heresy, especially the heresy of Eutyches in denying the two natures of Christ. St. Chrysostom, for instance, as an illustration of his argument in defence of the distinct yet combined two natures in Christ's person, adduces the Eucharist: "*Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus, divina autem illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote liberatus est quidem appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Domini corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit.*"¹ Again, Theodoret says, "For He also called the natural body food and bread, and also again called Himself a vine, the same has honoured the symbols which are seen with the title of body and blood, not changing their nature, but adding grace to their nature."² Most conclusively also Gelasius, Pope of Rome at the end of the fifth century, declares, "*Certe sacramenta, quae sumimus, corporis et sanguinis Christi divina res est, propter quod et per eadem Divinae efficimur consortes naturae, et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini.*"³

Now the very existence of such words as these (and many others could be adduced) is quite inconsistent with the notion of transubstantiation being held in those centuries in which they are written. A holder of that error certainly could not consistently say, that the substance or nature of bread and wine remains still; for the very definition of transubstantiation expressly states that the substance of the elements is gone, and the real substance of Christ's body and blood are there in its room.

Thus much for individual writers. With respect to public documents, such as liturgies (which constantly in reference to the Eucharist use the terms "type," "antitype," "sign," "mystery," etc.), or decrees of Councils, there is not trace of the kind till the second Council of Nicæa (A.D. 787), infamous in the Church for sanctioning the worship of images, and even there transubstantiation in name, and in theory is not mentioned; but the germ of error was laid in

¹ Fragment of a letter of Chrysostom to Cesarius, preserved in a Latin translation, in Routh's *Opuscula*, ii. 127.

² Theod. Dial. i. quoted in Routh, *Opusc.* ii. 131.

³ Gelasius de duabus naturis, *ibid.* p. 139.

their declaring that the sacred symbols are not the image of Christ's body and blood, but the very body and blood.¹ The seed thus sown, after growing silently among private theologians, attained its maturity and bore fruit in the anti-Catholic canon of the Lateran Council of 1215, under a Pope (Innocent III.) and in an age congenial to the establishment of any error which might be gainful to the priesthood. It is confessed by Duns Scotus and the Schoolmen and Romanists that before this Council the doctrine of transubstantiation was not explicitly an article of the faith.²

After this digression concerning the history of this doctrine, we return to the Article. "It is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture." Christ calls the wine the fruit of the vine after consecration, St. Matt. xxvi. 29; and, again, the bread is called bread, and the wine the cup three times in 1 Cor. xi. 26-28. In the Acts, as already quoted, the Holy Communion is spoken of as "breaking of bread." In 1 Cor. x. 16, if the cup be the communion of Christ's blood, and the bread the communion of His body, it cannot be that the cup should be His real blood, or the bread His real body; for then one might substitute the equivalent terms in the proposition, and say, "The blood is the communion of the blood, the body is the communion of the body."

"It overthroweth the nature of a sacrament," *i.e.* by confounding the sign with the thing signified, the means with the end. A thing cannot be a type of itself.

"Hath given occasion to many superstitions," such as sopping the bread in the wine, amulets, the reserving the wafer for cures, processions, the elevation of the Hostia, and the worship of it, the festival of Corpus Christi Day (the Thursday after Trinity Sunday), invented in 1264, and absurd legends, such as that of St. Gudule.

"Let it be remembered that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not a mere theory, but fraught with most momentous consequences. It not only confounds the means and the grace together, thereby destroying the nature of a Sacrament; but if it rests on no solid grounds whatever, and is demonstrably false, then the grace itself is actually endangered. For if the bread and wine are not changed into the body and blood of Christ, so as to cease to remain in their natural

¹ See Waterland, *Doctrinal Use of the Sacraments*, c. 14; vol. v. p. 116. The name did not come into use till about 1110. It is first found in Hildebertus Cenomanensis (*Waterland on the Eucharist*, c. 7, vol. iv. p. 599); but its invention is ascribed to Stephen of Autun.

² Jer. Taylor, *Dissuasive from Popery*, Part II. ii. 3; vol. vi. p. 573.

substance, the falling down and worshipping them (an indispensable part of the Roman ritual) is nothing less than idolatry."¹

I must say one word about "consubstantiation," *i.e.* the doctrine that the substance of Christ's natural body and blood are present in the Holy Sacrament with the substance of the bread and wine, which are in substance still there. This theory was invented by Luther; and involves a very subtle distinction, which is virtually condemned in our Church by the paragraph which follows.

3. The third paragraph in the Article is directed not only against transubstantiation, but against the tenet of *opus operatum*.

a. That the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, has been already proved.

β. It is eaten by faith, which is as much as to say, that without faith it is not eaten; whereas *ex opere operato* it is so eaten without faith. One might suppose that the Romanists would hardly deny this proposition, but we shall see in the next Article that they hold that in a certain sense the wicked receive the body and blood of Christ, even though they are infidels or evil livers; and the Schoolmen, without any reproof, held that even a dog or a mouse might receive the body of Christ. And there was anciently a most grievous error, condemned at the third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397,² of administering the communion to the dead, and laying the sacrament in the mouths of the departed; and there is a story of St. Benet "causing the sacrament to be placed on a dead woman's breast, thinking that the mere outward ceremony, without faith or inward motion of the party, might be sufficient to do her good, which also is called *opus operatum*."³ A similar error respecting Baptism is noticed by St. Paul, and was also subsequently condemned.⁴ In short, the principle throughout is that the very outward work of the sacrament, only because it was done, without any further motion of the mind, was sufficient to obtain the benefits of those sacraments. In other words, that "the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the sacrament is" not faith, but the effect of some talisman. How opposed such a tenet is to the ancient views may be seen by St. Augustine's condemnation of certain who in his day thought that if a

¹ See Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, p. 226.

² Conc. Carth. 3, can. 6.

³ Jewel, Reply, Article 20, vol. iii. p. 401.

⁴ Conc. Carth. 3, can. 6. See 1 Cor. xv. 29.

man had been baptized, and had received the Lord's body, however wickedly he lived, and of whatever heresy and impiety he might be guilty, he would be free from eternal punishment.¹

4. The chief point to be observed in the last paragraph is, as a matter of fact, that if the Lord's Supper is reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped, it is not so done by Christ's ordinance.

These additions, more or less corrupt, to the ancient practice of the Church, resulted naturally from transubstantiation—the consecrated elements being falsely supposed to be changed into the very Body and Blood of Christ, it was conceived that more than ordinary honour was due to them; not merely, as in our Church, that they should not, after consecration, be turned to any common or profane use, which leads to the order in our Communion Rubric, but reservation, procession, elevation, and, worst of all, worship. But if the tenet be false, all these consequences fall with it.

Reservation.—Even on their own theory, this must lead to dreadful abuses; for if the elements laid up decay, even the Sacrament or sign of the Lord's Body is departed. There is no trace of the practice in Holy Scripture, and notwithstanding occasional notices of such keeping, the early writers showed that it was not ordained by Christ. It cannot indeed be denied that the Sacrament in both kinds was occasionally kept after consecration, but it was invariably that it might be ready for use; as, for instance, they consecrated on Saturday and Sunday, and kept the consecrated elements for use during the succeeding week. It was not reserved that it should be hanged up under a canopy in the tabernacle which was called the Pyx, still less that it should be worshipped, which are the real ends for which the consecrated wafer, not the wine, is reserved, according to Romish practice.² You will observe, however, that even in regard to keeping it for use it was not by Christ's institution.

Origen, in a treatise sometimes ascribed to St. Cyril, says, "Dominus panem, quem discipulis suis dabat, non distulit, nec iussit servari in crastinum."³

The pseudo-Clement writes thus, "Tanta in altario holocausta offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debeant; quod si remanserint, non reserventur in crastinum, sed cum timore et tremore clericorum diligentia consumantur."⁴

A writer under the name of St. Jerome says, "Et post

¹ Aug. Civ. Dei, xxi. 19.

² See Jewel, Reply, Art. 9, vol. iii. 66, etc.

³ Origen in Levit. Hom. 5.

⁴ Clemens, Epist. ii. (ad Jacobum).

communione quaecunque de sacrificiis superfuissent, illic in ecclesia communem coenam comedentes pariter consumebant."¹

Even Gabriel Biel, a Romanist writer of Jewel's time, allows that "Non dedit discipulis, ut ipsum honorifice conservarent, sed dedit in sui usum, dicens, Accipite, et manducate."²

Carried about.—This alludes to the processions under a canopy, on a palfrey adorned with trappings; either those which are customary on certain solemnities, or in taking the Sacrament to the sick. With respect to the latter, we know from St. Justin, that it was even in his time taken from the church to the sick who could not leave their homes; but this is a very different thing from carrying it about, and insisting on all the passers-by offering it worship.

Elevation—"lifted up."—This we know is the most solemn moment in the modern Romish ritual. Every one in church is compelled to fall down and worship, and the troops present arms; but the ritualists, Bona, etc., acknowledge that it is comparatively not an ancient rite.³

Worship, *λάτρευσις*, sanctioned by the Council of Trent, Sess. xiii. c. 5, has been already spoken of. A full account of all the arguments, *pro* and *con.*, will be found in Jewel, Challenge, Art. 8, and in the Reply, in vol. iii. 1, etc.

If the bread and wine are not truly and substantially turned into the Body and Blood of Christ, then it is a creature, and if a creature, the worship of it is idolatry. But transubstantiation is an unscriptural, uncatholic innovation, therefore the worship of the elements is idolatry.

It should be observed, in conclusion, that there are found to be four principal opinions about Christ's presence in this Sacrament:—

a. Transubstantiation, into the very substance of the Body and Blood of Christ.

β. Consubstantiation, as taught by Luther.

γ. Real spiritual presence, such as is taught by the Church of England. The Body and Blood are "verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful," but there is no gross or carnal presence. It is spiritual, but real. This view was also held by Calvin.

δ. The Zuinglian view, that the Sacrament is a mere commemoration; mere signs and symbols to remind the communicant of the Body and Blood.

¹ Pseud. Hieron. in 1 Cor. xi. (tom. v. 998).

² Gabriel Biel, *Lectio* 36.

³ See Jewel, Reply, Art. 7, vol. ii. p. 432, note.

ARTICLE XXIX.

ARTICULUS XXIX.

De Manducatione Corporis Christi, et impios illud non manducare.

IMPII, et fide viva destituti, licet carnaliter et visibiliter (ut Augustinus loquitur) corporis et sanguinis Christi Sacramentum dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Christi participes efficiuntur. Sed potius tantae rei Sacramentum, seu Symbolum, ad iudicium sibi manducant et bibunt.

ARTICLE XXIX.

Of the wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.

THE Wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

THERE is nothing to correspond to this Article in the edition of 1552, nor in the authoritative copy of that of 1562. In this latter year the Article is found in a MS. copy of the Articles signed by both Houses of Convocation, and now preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; but it seems probable that it was struck out by command of the Queen, before the Articles received from her the ratification that finally makes them binding on the Church of England.¹ The Article is really a corollary from the third paragraph of Article XXVIII. and need not detain us long.

It seems to have been considered necessary as a further protest against the doctrine of grace *ex opere operato*, which would represent the receiving the Holy Communion as a sort of amulet or charm, the efficacy of which was wholly in itself, and no way dependent upon the receiver's disposition or state of preparation, as if the effect were purely mechanical. To show that the Article does bear distinctly upon a received notion of the Romanists, we may repeat that according to the Rheims Testament (which is their authorized English translation and commentary), the wicked in a certain sense receive the body and blood of Christ, though they be infidels or ill-livers.

¹ See Cardwell's Synodalia, i. 38.

The word "wicked," if pressed too far, would seem to exclude all men, since all are sinners, from eating the body and blood of Christ. But this surely cannot be meant: those only are here intended who are habitually and wilfully sinners, or, as the Latin well expresses it, *impii*, ungodly men.

"Void of a lively faith," is explained under Article XII.

"Partakers of Christ," *i.e.* dwelling in Christ, and Christ in them; one with Christ, and Christ with them.

From Scripture we have direct proof in the very injunction of St. Paul that a man should "examine himself."¹ The doctrine is also clear from St. John iii. 36; compared with Habakkuk ii. 4, quoted in Rom. i. 17. It is by faith that the just shall live; he that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and if he that believeth not the Son hath not life, then of course he hath not that life which is implied in "partaking of Christ." Further evidence is to be derived from 1 John i. 6, 7; 1 Cor. x. 21; 1 Cor. xi. 27-29, alluded to in the body of the Article.

The only passage of any Father which need be quoted, though several others are easily found, is from St. Augustine, whose words are in fact embodied in the Article: "*Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio nec manducat spiritualiter carnem eius, nec bibit eius sanguinem, licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi: sed magis tantae rei sacramentum ad iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, quia immundus praesumpsit ad Christi accedere sacramentum, quae aliquis non digne sumit, nisi qui mundus est.*"² Of course there is a great practical lesson involved in this doctrine; for the Romish view has an inevitable tendency, however by nice distinctions the learned may try to neutralize it, to lead to indifference as to the state of preparation of the recipient; whilst that of the Church of England here, as well as in the Communion Office, lays the greatest stress upon the faith and life of the receiver.

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 28.

² Aug. in Joann. Tract. xxvi. 18. For further passages see Jewel, Def. of Apol. c. xvi. Div. i. vol. vi. 200, etc.

ARTICLE XXX.

ARTICULUS XXX.

De Utraque Specie.

CALIX Domini laicis non est dene-
gandus: utraque enim pars Domi-
nici Sacramenti, ex Christi institutione
et praecepto, omnibus Christianis ex
aequo administrari debet.

ARTICLE XXX.

Of Both Kinds.

THE cup of the Lord is not to be
denied to the Lay-people: for both the
parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by
Christ's ordinance and command-
ment, ought to be ministered to all
Christian men alike.

THERE was no Article answering to this in 1552; but the later versions all exactly correspond. It is directed against one of the grossest of Romish corruptions.

The origin of this custom of not giving the cup to the congregation is to be found in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Reverence towards the consecrated elements, a devout reverential use of them, is not only blameless but right; and so is our custom, according to the rubric, of not leaving them to be turned to any common use; but over reverence, *i.e.* superstitious reverence, in believing the wine in the cup to be really and substantially changed into the Blood of Christ, led naturally to a horror at the thought of any of it being profaned, lost, dropped by accident. The accidental want of caution was supposed to be followed by judgments.¹ The first expedient probably resorted to was dipping the bread in the wine. This custom was first introduced in the seventh century, and was condemned in the Third Council of Bracara, A.D. 675, on the express ground that Christ gave His Body and Blood to His apostles distinctly, the bread by itself, and the chalice by itself.² Others again used tubes for conveying the wine into the recipient's mouth. It is remarkable that in the Greek Church "the laity, as well as the priests, communicate in both kinds, taking the bread and wine together from the hands of the priest."³ But even these expedients would hardly prevent possible acci-

¹ For some of their reasons see Gerson, ap. Jewel, Reply, Art. ii. vol. i. p. 387.

² Conc. Brac. iii. Can. 2 ap. Richard, Anal. Conc. i. 658.

³ Sir Paul Ricaut, p. 187; quoted in Hey's Lectures, iv. 302.

dents; and so at length the ordinance of Christ was maimed, through an excessive fear of doing irreverence to its supposed effect: the cup was denied to the people, including such priests as at any particular communion were not officiating, but made a part of the congregation. The custom was gradually introduced, but not confirmed by any Council¹ till that of Constance in 1414, sess. 13, the terms of which are these, that "although Christ instituted this sacrament in both kinds, and the faithful in the primitive Church received in both kinds; yet the contrary practice being reasonably brought in to avoid some danger and scandal, they appoint the custom to continue of consecrating in both kinds, and of giving to the laity only in one kind, since Christ was entire and truly contained under each kind."²

This was confirmed by the Council of Trent, in its twenty-first session. There were three Articles on this subject; two others remained, which in the next session were characteristically enough referred to the Pope. Though the language of the Council seems to imply some opening for variety and liberty, yet the constant practice of the Church of Rome has been for no one to receive the cup except the consecrating priest. A solitary exception was found for a short time in the Bohemian Church, on the authority of the Council of Basle, A.D. 1438.³ It should be stated that the King of France, and perhaps also some other kings, had the privilege anciently of communicating in both kinds, because, being anointed, he was a *quasi* priest.⁴

Scriptural proof of our proposition is derived from St. Matt. xxvi. 27, "Drink ye all of it," together with the reason in the following verse, "For this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins." If the cup was delivered to them as priests or clergy, and on that account is denied to the laity, so by parity of reasoning should be the bread. 1 Cor. xi. 26-28 is addressed to all the Church at Corinth. The same may be said of 1 Cor. x. 16, 21. 1 Cor. xii. 13 puts Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and that described by the element of the cup, on the same footing as enjoyed by all. And be it remembered that St. Paul's words lay stress on the institution.

¹ In the Council of Clermont in Auvergne, held under Urban II. in 1095 there is the following canon:—"Quicumque ad altare communicabunt Corpus et Sanguinem Christi Domini sub utraque specie percipient *nisi aliqua necessitas, aut aliqua circumspectio requirat, ut aliter fiat.*"—Richard, ii. 72.

² Richard, ii. 403.

³ Richard, ii. 432.

⁴ Jewel, Reply, Art. ii. vol. i. p. 342.

The scriptural conclusion again is confirmed by the reference to the early Church. Jewel, in the second Article of the Reply, asserts and proves that for at least six hundred years there never was an instance of the withholding the cup.

First let me state that the distinction here drawn between laity and priests (all tending to the one great object of the Church of Rome, sacerdotalism¹) is not recognised in the early Church. St. Chrysostom says there are things in which the priest differs nothing from the people, as when we must receive the holy mysteries, for we are all of like worthiness to receive the same.²

Now the practice of the Church is unquestionable. In the Greek Church it was never otherwise; in the Latin Church for a thousand years, as Cardinal Bona confesses,³ the cup was not denied to the laity. And, what is curious, there is in one of the Hymns for Corpus Christi Day :

“Dedit fragilibus corporis ferculum,
Dedit et tristibus salutis poculum,
Dicens, accipite quod trado vasculum ;
Omnes ex eo bibite.”⁴

St. Ignatius, ad Philad. Interpol. c. 4, says, “There is one bread broken to all, καὶ ἐν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διανεμήθη.” Even if we admit this to be an interpolation, it is of free use, as the later the testimony, the more valuable it is.

Similarly we may use the testimony of the pseudo-Dionysius, that “the unity of the cup is divided to all.”⁵

St. Justin Martyr says, Οἱ διάκονοι διδῶσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου, καὶ οἴνου, καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.⁶

Athanasius says, Οὗτος ὁ τρόπος τούτου τοῦ ποτηρίου μόνος, ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τοῦτο ὑμεῖς νομίμως προπίνετε τοῖς λαοῖς.⁷

St. Cyprian, arguing against the Aquarii, who used water only, speaks of their errors “in calice Dominico sanctificando et plebi administrando;”⁸ and again, in another treatise, refers to the time “Ubi sollemnibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre praesentibus coepit.”⁹

St. Chrysostom says, “It is not with us as it was under

¹ Gerson says that except for this, “Dignitas sacerdotum non esset supra dignitatem laicorum;” ap. Jewel, vol. i. 342.

² Chrysost. in 2 Cor. Hom. xviii.

³ Bona, Rer. Liturg. II. xix. 3.

⁴ Jer. Taylor, Ductor Dubitantium, II. iii. 9, sec. 13.

⁵ Dionys. Areopag. Eccles. Hierarch. c. 3.

⁶ Just. Apol. i. 65.

⁷ Athan. Apol. 2, vol. i. 133.

⁸ Cypr. ad Caec. Frat. Ep. 63, init.

⁹ Id. de Lapsis, p. 132.

the Old Testament, when the priest ate one portion and the subject another: *καὶ θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν ὧν μετείχεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐν σῶμα προκεῖται καὶ ποτήριον ἔν.*"¹

Some hermits attempted to do without the wine, on account of their distance from church, taking with them the consecrated bread; but the wine they could not so treat. They were forbidden to take the bread out of church by the Council of Toledo, A.D. 400, and by that of Saragossa, A.D. 380.²

Leo I., in 446, discovered certain Manichees (who abstained from wine as an abomination) who introduced themselves into congregations, by their not receiving the chalice; and whereas they would have received in one kind only, he calls it sacrilege, and reproves them with St. Paul's words, "Mark them which cause divisions, offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learnt."³

Pope Gelasius, in 490, when some heretical persons had thought fit to abstain (*N.B.* were not deprived) from the chalice, made this decree: "Aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut integris arceantur; quia divisio unius eiusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest fieri."⁴

In Pope Julius (337) we find the first notion of mixing the two elements. He reproves it, as contrary to Christ's institution;⁵ and in 675, on its being revived, the Council of Bracara repeated Pope Julius's decree.⁶

It was again revived in 920, when certain monks mixed the symbols, and in 1120 it was sometimes permitted; but even this abuse, as we should call it, bore evidence to the communion under both kinds.

Even as late as 1250, in the full period of the Schoolmen, they began in some Churches, though not in all even then, as Aquinas testifies,⁷ to leave off all use of the chalice, except to priests and grandees.

They then, in answer to some complaints, pretended miracles to sanction the omission of the chalice; which was finally established into a doctrine at the Council of Constance in 1415.⁸

¹ Chrysost. in 2 Cor. Hom. xviii.

² See Jer. Taylor, *Ductor Dubitantium*, II. iii. 15; Conc. Tolet. I. c. 14 (Richard, *Anal. Concil.* II. 368); Conc. Caesar-August. c. 3 (*Ib.* 312).

³ Leo. Ser. iv. See Rom. xvi. 17.

⁴ Gelas. ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. II. 12.

⁵ Jul. ad Episc. Aegypt. *ib.* II. 7.

⁶ Conc. Bracar. III. c. 2. Richard, I. 658.

⁷ Aquin. 3 part. summ. q. 80, art. 12 (tom. xii. 267 b).

⁸ Conc. Const. Sess. xiii.; Richard, II. 403. See Jer. Taylor, *Duct. Dub.* II. iii. 19-21.

Against all these manifold proofs, what allege the Romanists in excuse?

(1.) St. Luke xxiv. 30. But first, it is by no means certain that this was the Sacrament. Secondly, there is nothing to show that the two disciples were not priests; some think St. Luke himself was one of them; so that this example would prove too much, *i.e.* that neither priest nor layman need receive the cup. But thirdly, the true answer is that nothing can be inferred from the omission of the cup being named in a particular instance, any more than the non-necessity of bread can be inferred from 1 Cor. xii. 13, where drinking only is mentioned, when the whole tenor of Holy Scripture and all practice is the other way. The passage is like that in the Acts (ii. 42), "in breaking bread," which certainly implied the full Communion, equally for the Apostles (as the Romanists would themselves contend) and for the laity. Besides, from this and the other similar passages where bread alone is mentioned, it might be inferred that it is lawful to consecrate and for the priest also to receive under one kind.

(2.) But the great argument of the Romanists is one which can hardly be called by a softer name than Rationalism, *i.e.* the presuming to set up their own physical theories and their rationalistic argumentation against Church institution. This they do by their argument of "concomitancy,"¹ by which they maintain that as every body contains blood, therefore by receiving the "Body" alone, we at the same time receive the Blood,—an argument which first of all depends upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, which has been disproved. It by no means follows that the symbol and means of receiving the Body excludes the necessity of partaking of the symbol and means of receiving the Blood. And this, moreover, proves too much. For if this were true, why did Christ institute the Cup also? and why need the priests partake of it? The fact is, on the whole, that this tenet and practice is the most daring and unjustifiable innovation of which even Rome has been guilty; it is against, is in defiance of, Christ's institution, against the universal usage of the ancient Church; and for all we know, as breaking the appointed means of grace, it frustrates, at least it may frustrate, and it does render doubtful, to the unhappy laity, the grace which obedience to Christ's institution would insure; it wilfully breaks the covenant between Christ and His people.

¹ See Jewel, Reply, Article VIII. vol. iii. 30.

ARTICLE XXXI.

ARTICULUS XXXI.

De Unica Christi Oblatione in Cruce perfecta.

OBLATIO *Christi semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus, quam actualibus. Neque praeter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio; unde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem poenae, aut culpae, pro vivis et defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt, et perniciosae imposturae.*

ARTICLE XXXI.

Of the One Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

THE *Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.*

THE various editions and versions of this Article substantially agree, though the earlier English editions commence, "The offryng of Christ once made for ever, is the perfect redemption, the pacifying of God's displeasure," etc.; and for "blasphemous," they have "forged." For this word there is no equivalent in the Latin version of 1552.

The subject of this Article is the Romish Mass, or *missa*. The word, according to some few, but not the best authorities, is taken from the Hebrew *Missah* (Deut. xvi. 10), which the Vulgate translates, as most now think, erroneously, *spontanea oblatio*. Otherwise it is from the participle of "*mitto*," some say because an angel is sent to consecrate, but the most probable and generally received opinion is that it is derived from "*Ite, missa est*,"—1. because the catechumens were dismissed; and 2. because at the end of the *missa fidelium* the communicants were dismissed with these words.

With regard to the name itself, there is evidence to show that its ancient signification was equivalent to that of "Divine Service" generally;¹ it signified the "service" at

¹ Bingham, Orig. Eccl. xiii. i. 4.

which the catechumens were allowed to be present; and it is often used for the psalmody, lessons, and prayers of evening, when there was no celebration of the Eucharist. Indeed, it means sometimes severally "lessons," sometimes "collects," sometimes "the dismissal of the people," its original signification. In process of time it was confined to the meaning of "Communion Office," and at length to the restricted sense in which Rome uses it, the "Mass." Our object, however, is rather to examine the thing and not the name; and that thing is the propitiatory sacrifice.

Now the Article of 1552 was doubtless directed against the doctrine of Masses, as embodied not only in popular current belief, but also in their received offices, in the mass-books, in common use through the Church. It was therefore not only against popular error, but against authoritative statement, even before that of the Council of Trent, that the first draft in 1552 was directed; and this took, in the later edition of the Articles, a more distinct meaning after the Council of Trent says that there is such a propitiatory sacrifice offered repeatedly, even as often as the Mass is said—offered through the medium of the priest, offered "for the quick and dead to have remission of sins."¹ Which of these is right?

It has been endeavoured by some, but I think with little honesty, and by a mere quibble upon words, to represent the difference between the two Churches as not so wholly irreconcilable on this point as they may appear. It is true that the best English theologians consider the Holy Eucharist to be a representation of Christ's sacrifice, which is an idea quite inconsistent with the Church's doctrine, and quite scriptural, inasmuch as it is written, "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come,"² and "this do in remembrance of me."³ It is true, also, that the Church of England, in her Office, uses the words "to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving;" but even if the Article were less explicit, she means only to express what the ancient Fathers often did, not as a propitiatory sacrifice, but in the same sense as the Psalmist, "Let the lifting up of my hands be as the evening sacrifice."⁴ So Jerome, in his exhortation to Laeta respecting her child, bids her accustom him not only to evening hymns, etc., but to render to God his evening sacrifice.⁵ Again, Clemens

¹ Conc. Trid. Sess. xxii. c. 2.

⁴ Psalm cxli. 2.

² 1 Cor. xi. 28.

⁵ Hieron. Ep. 7 ad Laetam.

³ St. Luke xxii. 19.

Alexandrinus says: "The Christian's sacrifices are prayers and praise, and reading of the Scripture, Psalms before meals, and during meals, and at bed-time and in the night."¹ So that we are justified by old usage in using the word in reference to praise and thanksgiving, which no Christian pretends to have any properly propitiatory effect. But the Article is too strong to admit of any possibility of evasion—the Church of England would never sanction in her worship that which she condemns in her statement of belief.

Having thus cleared the ground by considering the design of the Article, which will become still more apparent as we proceed, we may go on to analyse the various parts.

In the title, the Latin "*unica*" is stronger than the "one oblation," or solemn offering of a victim to God. The title of itself implies that there is but one such oblation, one such victim, and one such priest; and this applies to the sacrifices before Christ, which were but shadows of what was to come, as well as in reference to any victims which might be pretended after that one oblation was completed. The victims of the patriarchal age, from which the heathens derived their idea of sacrifice, were intrinsically and of themselves inefficacious, their whole efficacy was borrowed and reflected back from the only true sacrifice and victim, that is, our Saviour dying upon the Cross. Thus Abel's sacrifice was, as it is generally supposed, accepted because it was a type of Christ. The nations in general continued the custom of sacrifice, though the import of them passed out of remembrance, and they at last thought that the gods might really be appeased by "the blood of bulls and of goats,"—in fact, the true tradition had been perverted by Satan, so as to lead men to do sacrifice to devils. Again, the efficacy of the Jewish sacrifices consisted in their representing beforehand the one true sacrifice upon the Cross; the blood of those victims was accepted as if effectual to purification, because of its relation as a type to the precious blood of Christ, which was the only true purification for our sin. And if this was true of the patriarchal and Jewish sacrifices (and *pro tanto* of those of the heathens), which had at least a true offering of blood, it was still more true of times after the death of Christ, when (except amongst savages) sacrifices of blood wholly ceased. The title therefore truly asserts that the oblation on the Cross was *unica*, unique, the only single sacrifice, and it asserts further that it was consummated or finished there. In reference to the particular subject of this Article, which

¹ Clem. Alex. Stromat. vii. 8.

is the Romish corruption, “one” is opposed to the many daily sacrifices which the doctrine of the Mass implies, “finished” to perpetuated, continued, and “upon the cross” to upon the altars so called.

The Article divides itself into three propositions :—

1. The offering, *προσφορά*, of Christ is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world ;

2. It is the only one, having been offered once for all ; whence

3. It is inferred that the sacrifices of Masses are fables and deceits.

1. The offering of Christ means not only that Christ was offered up, but that He offered Himself up.

That offering signifies the one always designed and prophesied of. Redemption, propitiation, satisfaction, represent the same consequence of Christ’s death under different points of view, like the “full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction” of our Communion Office. Redemption, *λύτρωσις*, or *ἀναλύτρωσις*, as in St. Matt. xx. 28, *καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* ; Tit. ii. 14, *ὃς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα λυτρώσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας* ; Heb. ix. 12, *αἰώνιον λύτρωσιν εὐράμενος*. Propitiation, *ἱλασμός*, or *ἱλαστήριον*, in reference to God’s mercy being obtained. So St. Luke xviii. 13, *ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ* ; Rom. iii. 25, *ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι* ; 1 St. John ii. 2, *καὶ αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου* ; 1 St. John iv. 10, “Not that we loved God, but that He loved us, *καὶ ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἱλασμὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν* ;” Heb. ii. 17, . . . *εἰς τὸ ἰλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ*.¹

Satisfaction is not a scriptural word. It means that the justice of God was satisfied, first by Christ’s perfecting the law for us, and secondly, by His paying the penalty of our transgressions—a full payment of the debt.

For further proof of this proposition (for we have hitherto been mostly considering its terms) we may revert to the eleventh Article, and also to the ninth, on Original Sin.

2. It is the only one, having been made once for all. Christ is now the only *Ἱερεὺς*, in that He offered Himself up as the only victim which could take away sin ; whereas the Jewish priests offered up types, which could never take away

¹ In Heb. ix. 5, *τὸ ἱλαστήριον* is the mercy-seat, and *ἱλασμός* is used in the Septuagint for a sin-offering, Ezek. xlv. 27.

sin. The whole scope of the Epistle to the Hebrews is founded on this truth. See particularly Heb. ix. 11-15, x. 18, "Now where remission of these (sins and iniquities) is, there is no more offering for sin;" 26, "There remaineth no more sacrifice for sin."

"Made once for all." Much turns upon this word, which represents ἅπαξ and ἐφάπαξ. Heb. ix. 26, 27, 28, ἅπαξ πεφανέρωται; ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν; ἅπαξ προσενεχθεῖς; ix. 12, εἰσῆλθεν ἐφάπαξ εἰς τὰ ἅγια; x. 10, ἐν ᾧ θελήματι ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμεν οἱ διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐφάπαξ; Rom. vi. 10, ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ; cp. Heb. vii. 26, 27, x. 11-14; Eph. v. 2; 1 St. Pet. iii. 18.

The result of all these texts is that there is and has been only one true propitiatory sacrifice, one sacrifice to have remission of pain or guilt, and no other; that this offering of Himself was made by Christ Himself, and by no other. And we must add as a remarkable fact that the word ἱερεὺς or ἀρχιερεὺς, sacrificing priest, is in no case applied in the New Testament to the clergy; the word which has given rise to our word "priest" being πρεσβύτερος, and when the word "priesthood" is applied to any one except Christ under the Christian dispensation, it is to all the faithful, as in 1 St. Peter ii. 5, and 9, and in Rev. i. 6, "And hath made us (*i.e.* the people whom he is addressing, the seven Churches, not the clergy) kings and priests;" and again, v. 10, in the hymn sung by the twenty-four elders, "and hast made us unto our God kings and priests." So again the words *θυσίαι*, *προσφορὰ*, etc., are nowhere used of any part of the functions of the Christian clergy, or as connected with the Eucharist. On the other hand we have *θυσίαν αἰνέσεως* in Heb. xiii. 15. In short, there is a special exclusion in Holy Scripture of the possibility of any repetition of the sacrifice. Hence results the inference

3. That "the sacrifices of Masses are blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." For if the Romish priest pretends to offer Christ, he does three things actually repugnant to Holy Scripture: (*a.*) He presumes to be a real priest, ἱερεὺς, in derogation of Christ's exclusive priesthood, and this of itself is blasphemous, and the degree of blasphemy may be measured by the language of arrogance in which some of their writers have indulged,—one Gabriel Biel having actually asserted that from this office of consecrating and offering up Christ's Body and Blood, the priest on earth is superior to the angels, nay, to the blessed Virgin Mary herself;¹

¹ Biel, Lect. iv. b. See Jewel, Reply, Article II. vol. i. 342.

another having actually called himself, as the officiating priest, "the creator of the Body of his Lord."¹ To show that the priest does really intrude himself into Christ's priestly and mediatorial office, it should be stated that in the Romish Missal the priest desires God the Father favourably to behold His own only Son, as He did formerly the oblation of Abel or Melchisedec;² and in the order of the Mass we find these words: "Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi uni et vero Deo, pro peccatis totius Ecclesiae, vivorum et mortuorum."

Secondly, he pretends to repeat or continue the sacrifice which was made once for all: he pretends to offer up Christ, Himself, invisibly under the form of bread and wine, but really and in deed. The error, speaking generally, of any such offering having been ever made by any one of the Clergy, results almost necessarily, I need hardly say, from the heresy of transubstantiation; and that having been disproved, the consequence falls with it. But there is the further error, necessarily consequent upon this, that the sacrifice is said to be repeated; the Holy Scriptures say ἅπαξ, the Romish priest says not ἅπαξ, but as often as the Eucharist is celebrated: *i.e.* every day at least once; in many churches several times a day at different altars; and that all over the world, so that there may be thousands upon thousands of sacrifices of the same real Body and Blood of Christ going on in different places at the same instant. It would be difficult to imagine a doctrine more directly opposed to Heb. x. 11-14, ix. 25, 26. Moreover the pretended propitiatory sacrifice of Christ implies a real shedding of His blood as the principle of His human life: for "without shedding of blood is no remission;"³ and a real shedding of blood, whereas Christ "dieth no more."⁴

Thirdly, the priest pretends that this offering is efficacious for the dead as well as for the quick:⁵ or, in other words, that this is the instrument for the remission of the pains of purgatory: which indeed seems to be the chief use to which the Mass is turned in the Church of Rome; such Masses being purchased for money by the relations, or according to the dead man's bequest. But this error has been already disposed of under Article XXII. With respect to the Fathers,

¹ *Stella Clericorum* (a book which went through thirteen editions between 1488 and 1515), ap. Jewel, Reply, Art. XXI. vol. iii. 439: "Iste qui creavit me, dedit mihi creare se: qui creavit me sine me, creatur mediante me."

² Jewel, Reply, Art. XVII. vol. iii. 350.

³ Heb. ix. 22.

⁴ Rom. vi. 9.

⁵ Conc. Trid. Sess. xxii. c. 2.

while it is clear that at no late period they introduced an usage not sanctioned by Holy Scripture, of adopting the words *ιερεὺς*, altars, sacrifice, by a kind of analogy from the Mosaic law into the phraseology of Christianity, using such words, however, most loosely (for instance, St. Chrysostom calls preaching the Gospel *ιεροσυνή*, *θυσία* "sacrifice" and "oblation");¹ yet there is not the slightest trace of the monstrous doctrine which Rome has invented, as was to be expected when we remember that transubstantiation, which is its necessary foundation, was unheard of during so many centuries. They of course, as we do, considered the Eucharist to be a lively representation of the one only sacrifice upon the Cross. As a specimen among many, we may take St. Augustine, c. Faust, lib. xx. 21: "Huius sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur; in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur; post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoriae celebratur;" and again, de Civit. Dei, x. 5: "Quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii."

It is but just, however, to examine the grounds upon which Romanists attempt to justify this monstrous doctrine. The Council of Trent argues from the analogy of the Mosaic law, added to the Apostle's declaration that Christ was a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec² (the very text which appears most to militate against any other but Christ being a priest in the proper sense of *ιερεὺς*): that He offered bread and wine in the Last Supper: and then it adds that He made the apostles priests (*i.e.* sacerdotes, *ιερεῖς*, the absence of which term in Holy Scripture is to be borne in mind), by the expression "*hoc facite* in meam commemorationem."³ It appears hardly credible that some of the Roman controversialists have translated this "*sacrifice* this;" on the authority of such passages as "*cum faciam vitula.*"⁴ *Ποιεῖτε* can have no such meaning; and the whole reasoning in the first two chapters of Sess. xxii. is transparently a begging of the question. They try also to apply Malachi i. 11: "In every place incense shall be offered in my name, and a pure offering." This passage is interpreted by Tertulian to mean "the preaching of the Gospel to the end of the world:"⁵ or again "Prayer:"⁶ by St. Jerome "Prayers:"⁷ by Eusebius "Prayers"⁸ and Jewel asserts that no Father

¹ Chrysost. Hom. xxix. in Rom. xv. 16.

³ St. Luke xxii. 19.

⁵ Tert. c. Iudaeos, c. 5, p. 188.

⁷ Hieron. in c. i. Mal.

² Heb. vi. 20.

⁴ Virg. Ecl. iii. 77.

⁶ Tert. c. Marcion. iv. c. 1.

⁸ Eus. de Demonstr. i. 10. 8.

interprets it of anything approaching to the Romish doctrine.¹

Thus their theory is proved to be wholly an invention ; and surely it is the true charity to call things by their true names, and to say that "the sacrifices of Masses are blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." They are surely nothing but fables : and they are not innocent ones, as in matters indifferent, but affecting some of the vital truths of Christianity, derogating from Christ's character, and exalting mortal man to an office which is Christ's alone ; and what is this but blasphemy ? blasphemous fables ? and if so they are deceits, not such as may be safely held, but to the last degree dangerous.

Before we quit the subject, we should notice the corruption of the Private Mass, which has arisen naturally from the general notion of the Mass, understood in its modern sense, of a sacrifice or offering of Christ Himself by the priest to the Father. The natural effect of this general error is that the true purposes of the Eucharist are lost sight of. If the Romish view of the reality of such celebration of the Eucharist were correct, then this part of the service would naturally come to be considered more important than even the Communion, because while the Communion would benefit the individual communicants to their personal and mutual benefit, the sacrifice being for the quick and dead, for the absent as well as the present, might be conceived to extend its benefits, not indirectly as is the case with every faithful communicant, but directly to the whole Church, militant and expectant. Hence in the progress of corruption, Communion came to be comparatively disregarded, whilst the consecration of the elements on the part of the priest (which consecration was in the early Church always relative to actual communion), being falsely conceived to bear relation to a real oblation of Christ Himself to the Father, became the prominent act at the celebration of the Eucharist. This, then, was the object of "private Mass,"—by which word "private" we are not to understand "done secretly or privately," as opposed to "done in public," for this, like every other Mass, took place in the open church, but we are to understand that it was a public Mass, in which no one, not even other priests present, communicated with the officiating priest—where the priest received the consecrated elements alone—the only part which the people had to do being at an appointed signal to commit idolatry by falling down and worshipping the con-

¹ Jewel, Reply, Art. 17, vol. vi. 336.

secrated elements. It is well known that the practice still continues in full force; in fact, the occasions are extremely rare in the Church of Rome where the Mass is allowed to be considered an opportunity of communion. And so the partaking of the Holy Communion has become, and will be found for laymen, most infrequent in the Church of Rome. The officiating priest receives alone, the whole parish standing by and looking on; as they in mere mockery say (for surely this is a cruel robbery committed on the people), he receives for the people, vicariously as it were eating and drinking in their stead, and as their representative. The very statement of such a practice utterly condemns it; yet this service makes up the principal religious act of daily occurrence in that Church. Of course, being founded upon what has been shown to be a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit, it falls of itself to the ground; and it hardly deserves or needs a refutation. Suffice it to say, that it is entirely at variance with Holy Scripture, which makes a general communion of all present a part of Christ's institution; it violates the first rule of ancient ecclesiastical law, that no man should be present at the Eucharist who did not communicate; it has not a shadow of authority in the first six centuries; nothing can be more ridiculous and sophistical than the arguments with which Harding and others have attempted to defend it; and many Roman writers confess that it is a late invention, unsupported by the example of the Primitive Church.

ARTICLE XXXII.

ARTICULUS XXXII.

De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

EPISCOPIS, *Presbyteris, et Diaconis nullo mandato divino praeceptum est, ut aut coelibatum voveant, aut a matrimonio abstineant. Licet igitur etiam illis, ut caeteris omnibus Christianis, ubi hoc ad pietatem magis facere iudicaverint, pro suo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.*

ARTICLE XXXII.

Of the Marriage of Priests.

BISHOPS, *Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.*

IN 1552 this Article ran as follows: "Episcopis, Presbyteris, et Diaconis non est mandatum ut coelibatum voveant; neque iure divino coguntur matrimonio abstinere." The second clause was added in 1562.

It is directed against the Romish error of enforcing celibacy upon all in holy orders; a prohibition the more remarkable, as they esteem Matrimony to be a sacrament, and yet shut out their priests from it.

The scriptural evidence is all on our side. St. Peter was married (St. Matt. viii. 14), and seems to have taken his wife on his missionary journeys (1 Cor. ix. 5); Philip the deacon was married (Acts xxi. 9); Aquila and Priscilla worked together in carrying out his ministry (Acts xviii. 2; 1 Cor. xvi. 19); a bishop (*i.e.* probably a priest) is to be the husband of one wife, and have his children in subjection (1 Tim. iii. 2, 4); Titus was to ordain as elders such as were "the husband of one wife, having faithful children" (Titus i. 6); and St. Paul actually condemns such as forbid to marry (1 Tim. iv. 3).

Primitive example is on the same side. Tertullian was a married priest: Spiridion, Bishop of Cyprus, at the time of the Council of Nice, was married and had children: St. Hilary of Poitiers, St. Gregory Nyssen, and Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzum, father of St. Gregory Nazianzen, are all cited

by Jewel as married men : and some of the Fathers assert that St. Paul himself had a wife.¹

At the Council of Nice, Paphnutius, a monk, successfully vindicated the right of the clergy to marry;² and this liberty is confirmed by decrees of the Council of Gangra in 324;³ of the Council in Trullo, in 692;⁴ and of Angers, in 453.⁵

Till the time of Gregory VII. (1074), it was left an open question in the Church of Rome : though second marriages had early been forbidden. Pius II., who died in 1464, bears witness that "marriage was for many important reasons forbidden to priests, and for greater ought it to be restored to them."

In the Greek Church, parish priests have always been required to be married men ; and it has been allowed in all the Reformed Churches, Luther having gone so far as to violate the monastic vows of celibacy, and having been himself a monk, to contract a marriage with a nun.

¹ Jewel, Def. of Apol. Part ii. c. 8, Div. i. vol. iv. 551, etc.

² Jewel's Reply, Art. iv. vol. ii. 287.

³ Jewel, Sermon. ii. vol. vii. 374.

⁴ In this, however, the liberty was confined to marrying before ordination : Richard, Anal. Conc. i. 676.

⁵ *Ib.* 456.

ARTICLE XXXIII.¹

ARTICULUS XXXIII.

De Excommunicatis vitandis.

QUI per publicam Ecclesiae denunciationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiae praeclusus est, et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine (donec per poenitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio Iudicis competentis) habendus est tanquam Ethnicus et publicanus.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Of Excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided.

THAT person, which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath authority thereunto.

THIS Article is the same in all the three editions. The word “rightly” is seen from the Latin to be used in the sense of “by due form:” and “competentis” is more precisely explained in the English by “that hath authority thereto.”

In the title more variation is observable. In 1552 it stood “Excommunicati vitandi sunt,” “Excommunicate persons are to be avoided:” but in the later editions this proposition is taken for granted, and the title represents the Article rather as dealing with the manner of avoiding those upon whom sentence of excommunication has been passed.

The first point that is noticeable in this Article is that it treats excommunication as a judicial act, resulting from the exercise of authority by the Church; and not as the consequence of individual censure. This is clear from the reference which it implicitly contains to St. Matt. xviii. 17, “If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican.” For this appeal to the Church is not to be made till all private remonstrance has failed; and it is obviously directed to the highest authority that can be brought to bear upon the case.

The direct commission so to excommunicate was given

¹ This Article, and those that follow, except Article xxxvii., were not included in the course of Dr. Jelf’s Lectures. The remarks on them have been added by the Editor.

by our Lord, first to St. Peter (St. Matt. xvi. 19); and later to the whole of the Apostles (St. John xx. 23); and we find it actually exercised by St. Paul in the case of the incestuous man at Corinth.¹

And that the Apostles did not understand that this authority was peculiar to themselves, but held that it was capable of transmission to their successors, may be seen from the injunction of St. Paul to Titus, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject;"² together with the directions in several of his epistles that those guilty of various offences should be avoided by the faithful in the Church.³

Accordingly we find the Church in succeeding ages invariably claiming the right to exercise this discipline over her members.

In early times there were three stages or degrees of such discipline. First there was the formal admonition of the offender, solemnly repeated once or twice, in accordance with the precept of St. Paul. If this was disregarded, then the Church proceeded to the "lesser excommunication," which consisted in suspension from the Holy Communion. Persons under this sentence were still admitted to the church during the service of the catechumens, though they were excluded from even being present at the Eucharist. The third stage was the "greater excommunication," inflicted either for more heinous offences, or for obstinate impenitence in those who had been guilty of lesser crimes. By this excommunication persons were not only shut out from all public services of the Church, of whatsoever kind, but from all civil and social intercourse with the Christian community; and notice was customarily given of the sentence, at least to the neighbouring Churches, sometimes to all the Churches in the world, that they too might refuse to admit the offenders to their communion.

This twofold excommunication we find recorded by Tertullian in the second century, in the case of Valentinus and Marcion, who are represented as "*semel et iterum reiecti, . . . novissime in perpetuum discidium relegati*."⁴ The right of excommunication we also find recognised in the earliest Councils, as in various Canons of the Council of Elvira, A.D. 303;⁵ in the fifth Canon of the Œcumenical

¹ 1 Cor. v. 1-5.

² Tit. iii. 10.

³ Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. v. 11; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14; 1 Tim. i. 20, cp. 2 John 10.

⁴ Tertull. de Præscript. c. 30.

⁵ Conc. Eliber. Can. 1, 2, 3, 49, 53, etc., in Richard, Anal. Concil. i. 185, etc.

Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325;¹ in the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341;² in the fourth Council of Carthage, A.D. 398,³ where association with an excommunicated person was itself declared to entail suspension from Communion, and elsewhere.

In the fifth century we have at full length a form of the greater excommunication, as pronounced by Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, against Andronicus, the tyrannical governor of that place, and others who were partakers in his crimes.⁴ And from that time down to the period of the Reformation it would be easy to accumulate proofs that the practice of excommunication prevailed universally in the Church: attaining to such dimensions in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, as to become a terrible engine of oppression; especially when the uncatholic system was adopted of issuing interdicts against whole nations.

The pernicious effect of such wholesale and indiscriminate excommunication came however to be perceived by the very power that put it in practice, and in the Council of Trent, though the right of excommunication is not only reserved, but declared to be the very nerves and sinews of ecclesiastical discipline, yet moderation in its use is enjoined, and a warning given against bringing it into contempt by excessive severity.⁵ In more modern times, as is observed by Bishop Burnet, "private confession in the Church of Rome has destroyed the government of the Church, and superseded the ancient penitentiary canons:"⁶ and the very evil has crept in that was so carefully guarded against in the primitive Church, that deprivation of communion is inflicted at the discretion of the individual priest, instead of requiring the solemn judgment of the chief authorities of the Church.

In the Reformed Churches the right is universally asserted, though they have dwelt on the duty of the rulers of the Church as shown in winning souls to Christ, rather than in excommunicating offenders. Thus in the Confession of Augsburg we find it maintained that "to take cognizance of doctrine, and to reject doctrine which is at variance with the Gospel, and to shut out from the communion of the Church the impious whose impiety is notorious, so that it be done

¹ "Quoad excommunicatos, seu clericos seu laicos, sententia ab uniuscuiusque provincie Episcopis omnibus servari debet."—Conc. Nic. Can. 5. *Ibid.* p. 242.

² Conc. Antioch. Can. 6. *Ibid.* p. 258.

³ Conc. Carthag. iv. Can. 73. *Ibid.* p. 353.

⁴ Synes. Epist. 58; translated by Bingham, Orig. Eccles. xvi. ii. 8.

⁵ Conc. Trid. Sess. xxv., De Reformatione, c. iii.

⁶ Burnet on the Articles, p. 494.

by mere verbal sentence, without recourse to violence, as also the remission of sins," comes within the cognizance of bishops, though as such they have no temporal sovereignty or jurisdiction.¹ In the Saxon Confession a distinction is drawn between "satisfaction" looked upon as compensating for sin, and as a lawful punishment; and in the latter point of view excommunication is authorized as a just punishment for notorious sins, provided that it be exercised "a legitimo judicio et ordine."² And the same testimony is borne in the other Reformed Churches, though in our own the power of excommunication is practically in abeyance, owing mainly to the connexion between Church and State, and the jealous supervision which the latter maintains over even spiritual privileges belonging to its subjects. Still the doctrine of the Church of England is clear, not only from this Article, but from the beginning of the Communion Service, and from the rubric before the Order for the Holy Communion, enjoining the curate to warn open and notorious evil-livers from coming without repentance and amendment to the Lord's Table. This last place is of especial value, as reserving the right of actual excommunication to the Bishop, to whom the curate is to give an account of any such warning within fourteen days after at the furthest.

¹ Confessio Augustana, *De potestate Ecclesiastica*; in Sylloge Confess. p. 226.

² Confessio Saxonica, c. 17.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

ARTICULUS XXXIV.

De Traditionibus Ecclesiasticis.

TRADITIONES atque ceremonias easdem non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles. Nam et variae semper fuerunt, et mutari possunt, pro regionum, temporum, et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra verbum Dei instituat.

Traditiones, et ceremonias Ecclesiasticas quae cum verbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt auctoritate publica institutae, atque probatae, quisquis privato consilio volens, et data opera, publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiae, qui laedit auctoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut caeteri timeant, arguendus est.

Quaelibet Ecclesia particularis, sive nationalis, auctoritatem habet instituendi, mutandi, aut abrogandi ceremonias, aut ritus Ecclesiasticos, humana tantum auctoritate institutos, modo omnia ad aedificationem fiant.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

IT is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgement, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like), as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrature, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

IN the edition of 1552 this Article did not contain the last clause, which was added in 1562 by Archbishop Parker, as well as the word *temporum*, "times," in the first clause. In other respects the three editions are essentially the same; and the only point of difference to note between the Latin and English versions is the want of any qualifying English adverb to represent *omnino* in "non omnino necessarium." In respect of the language it is further to be noticed that "Traditions" here evidently means traditional practice, and not, as in Article VI., traditional doctrine.

As the Article stands, it contains five propositions :—

1. "It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly alike."

2. "At all times they have been divers."

3. "They may be changed, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word."

4. "Whosoever through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break them . . . ought to be rebuked openly."

5. "Every particular and national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

Of these it is clear that the first three and the fifth hang together, the fifth being the practical corollary that applies the previous statements to the special circumstances of the English Church, as introducing change even into certain rites and ceremonies which had been lawfully ordained.

For the first proposition depends mainly on common sense for its force, any proof of it to be derived from Holy Scripture being rather negative than positive. Still, it is hardly credible that, had uniformity in such matters been essential, we should not have had some instruction on the subject in the New Testament, the silence of which contrasts strongly in this respect with the minute directions of the ceremonial portion of the Mosaic law. St. Paul indeed enjoins upon the Corinthians in general terms that all things should be done "decently and in order;"¹ and we have a few specific instructions, as that men should pray with their heads uncovered, women with a covering on their heads;² and that women should not be allowed to teach publicly;³ and we have of course the essential outward form of the Holy Sacraments appointed for us; but even in these all details of the Service are left undefined, and with regard to the general character of our services we have no appointed order whatsoever.

Hence, if even in the Jewish Church there were *traditions*, customs added to the injunctions of the law of Moses, about which different parties among the Jews held different opinions, it is not surprising that in the Christian Church, with its much greater liberty, there should have arisen from the very first diversities of practice even on points of considerable importance. We find the germs of these even in the Apostolic times, in the greater or less adherence to the

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

² *Ib.* xi. 4, 5.

³ 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12.

Mosaic law on the part of the disciples ; and as early as the second century, it was only the moderation of the leaders of the controversy that prevented an open schism as the result of the disputes about the time of keeping Easter.¹ A similar charity on the part of Cyprian was required to prevent a breach of unity on the more serious question of whether baptism by heretics should be recognised as valid ; but the same principle prevailed, that difference of custom on points where no decisive instruction was given in the Bible was not to be allowed to cause a violation of the unity of the Church.²

The testimony of Augustine is very much to the point, that "there are many things in which customs differ in different localities and regions of the earth, as that some fast on the Sabbath, others not, some communicate daily, others only on certain days, in one place oblations are made (for the dead ?) on every day, in another only on the Sabbath and on Sunday, in a third only on the Sunday ; and if there is anything else that might be noticed of the same sort, it is to be observed that in all these kinds of things we are left free to act as we please ; nor is any discipline better in these matters for a discreet and prudent Christian, than that he should follow the custom which he finds prevalent in the Church in which he is. For any observance that is not proved to be either contrary to the faith or prejudicial to a holy life is to be held a matter indifferent in itself, and is to be followed for the sake of the society of those among whom he lives."³

In the exercise of this liberty, we find the several Churches of Christendom framing each its own Liturgy from the earliest times ; and down to the present day, the Church of Rome, the great upholder of uniformity, yet admits of certain considerable varieties of liturgy, as in the so-called orthodox Greek and Armenian Churches, and in the Ambrosian liturgy at Milan.

From the lawfulness of this variety follows necessarily the right, existent somewhere, of making changes, which is the assertion of the third proposition ; and the fifth declares that this right is vested in every particular or national Church, thus protesting against the claim of the Pope to have such authority over all the Churches of Christendom as should make him the sole arbiter of such change. The question of this claim will be considered under Article

¹ Iren. Ep. ad Victor. ap. Euseb. v. 24.

² Cypr. Ep. lxxiii. sec. 22. Conc. Carthag. de rebaptizandis haereticis.

³ August. ad Januar. Epist. liv. c. ii., quoted by Hey, Lectures iv. 443.

xxxvii., but the practice of the early Churches, of which examples have been given above, is sufficient justification of the principle upon which our Reformers acted in using the liberty of making changes in things indifferent; and in doing so, of acting independently, when they saw good cause, not only of Rome, but also of the other Reformed Churches.¹

The fourth proposition in the Article deals with the other side of the question,—the necessity of some rule in matters indifferent which should be binding upon each individual member of the several Churches. This follows from the necessity of some order in any society whatsoever, and especially in a society in which one main object is to promote the common united worship of God in the public assemblies of the Church. If every person were to follow his own fancies or devices in such matters, it would be obviously impossible to carry out the command of the Apostle, that all things should be done “decently and in order.”²

The Article draws attention to two points in which disorder is likely to ensue from unwillingness to submit to rule. For, first, the authority of the magistrate is thereby impaired; and if it is set at naught in things indifferent, it is clear that his influence is lessened in public estimation for the enforcing of essential discipline. Moreover, on this point the testimony of Scripture is express. We are not to set up laws each individual for himself, but “every soul is to be subject to the higher powers:”³ we are to “submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake:”⁴ whilst schisms, such as could not fail to spring from every man’s doing what seemed good in his own eyes, are condemned in the strongest language by St. Paul.⁵

A second reason for obedience to rule urged in the Article is the danger of offending the consciences of the weaker brethren. There may be rules laid down by the Church as of general expediency in matters indifferent, which might have been unnecessary in particular cases; just as in civil communities laws are passed and are binding on all which might have been dispensed with, and may even prove to be oppressive in the case of certain individuals; and yet, for the preservation of general order, it is needful that all alike should submit to the discipline which was ordained only to meet the requirements of the weaker members, who were less

¹ This was made matter of accusation against them by the Genevan party in England; see Hooker, *Ecel. Pol.* iv. 13.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

³ Rom. xiii. 1.

⁴ 1 St. Pet. ii. 13.

⁵ 1 Cor. i. 10, 11; Gal. v. 20.

able to control themselves. If those who felt that any law was not in itself a necessary law were to dispense with its observance, their self-granted liberty could hardly fail to draw the weaker brethren after their example, and the first insubordination would lead to general license. And if St. Paul acknowledged the principle of considering the consciences of those who required stricter discipline than himself, even in matters where no obedience to law was involved, declaring that if meat should make his brother to offend he would eat no meat while the world standeth,¹ it applies with infinitely more force to cases where not our own consciousness, but the general voice of the Church, as expressed in its ordinances, points to the necessity of restraining individual liberty for the general weal. We find St. Paul again applying the principle even to the most doubtful cases, when, in deference to the scruples of the Jews, he caused Timothy, who was only half of Jewish blood, to be circumcised,² even after the establishment of the Church of Christ had done away with the absolute obligation of the ceremonial law.

At the same time it is noticeable how judiciously and tenderly the Article deals with such offenders. It does not profess to control private judgment; only to rebuke the open breach of order which results from acting on it in opposition to authority; we are not necessarily bound to approve of all the laws ordained in matters indifferent, only to obey them so long as they are law; nor again does it condemn inadvertent or involuntary breaches of such laws, but only such as are committed willingly and purposely: and these, almost in the language of 1 Tim. v. 20, it declares should be rebuked openly (before all), that others may fear to do the like.

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 13.

² Acts xvi. 3.

ARTICLE XXXV.

ARTICULUS XXXV.

De Homiliis.

TOMUS secundus Homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic articulo subiunximus, continet piam et salutarem doctrinam, et his temporibus necessariam, non minus quam prior Tomus Homiliarum, quae editae sunt tempore Edwardi Sexti: Itaque eas in Ecclesiis per ministros diligenter et clare, ut a populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse indicavimus.

ARTICLE XXXV.

Of the Homilies.

THE second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joinea under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

De nominibus Homiliarum.

Of the Names of the Homilies.

1. Of the right Use of the Church.
2. Against peril of Idolatry.
3. Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.
4. Of good Works: first of Fasting.
5. Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.
6. Against excess of Apparel.
7. Of Prayer.
8. Of the Place and Time of Prayer.
9. That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.
10. Of the Reverend Estimation of God's Word.
11. Of Almsdoing.
12. Of the Nativity of Christ.
13. Of the Passion of Christ.
14. Of the Resurrection of Christ.
15. Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.
16. Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.
17. Of the Rogation Days.
18. Of the State of Matrimony.
19. Of Repentance.
20. Against Idleness.
21. Against Rebellion.

THIS Article, in its present form, is found only in the edition of 1571. In 1552, before the publication of the second Book of Homilies, we have a similar statement in

regard to the first Book, that "Thomelies of late geven and set out by the Kinges authoritie, be godly and holsome, containing doctrine to be received of all menne, and therefore are to be readde to the people diligentlie, distinctlie and plainlie." In 1562, a statement substantially the same as that contained in the present Article was appended to the preceding one, the names of the Homilies in the second Book forming then a distinct Article.

In appointing Homilies, or authoritative discourses on the doctrines of Christianity, distinct from Holy Scripture, to be read in Church, our Reformers were only following a very ancient custom in the Church, found as early as the time of St. Jerome in respect of the epistles of Hermas,¹ Clemens Romanus,² and Polycarp:³ and confirmed by the authority of Councils at Vasens, in 529 A.D.,⁴ and Rheims in 813 A.D., with reference to the Homilies of the Fathers generally. In the latter Council the incompetence even of many bishops to compose sermons is assigned as a reason for translating and preaching the works of the Fathers.⁵

And if ever such a practice was necessary, it was so especially in the time at which it was recommended in the Article. Not only were the bulk of the clergy generally very ignorant, but many of them were only half acquainted with the first principles of the Reformation, and many others mistook their new-found liberty for utter license, so that the greatest uncertainty and confusion prevailed in the teaching that issued from the pulpits, and it was found needful repeatedly to prohibit preaching, except under especial sanction. Consequently we hear of as many as 8000 parishes at one time as being destitute of preaching ministers; and some means of supplying such a want was peremptorily required.

Accordingly, at the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign, in 1547, was published the first Book of Homilies, composed mainly by Archbishop Cranmer, though probably not without assistance from Ridley, Latimer, Bonner, and others. These form the subject of the Article of 1552, and are placed in the later editions of the Articles on the same footing as the later volume, which was published in 1560, and was probably, at least in great part, the work of Bishop Jewel. Both volumes are directed mainly against the errors of the Church

¹ Hieron. de Viris Illust., vol. ii. p. 831.

² *Ibid.* p. 839.

³ *Ibid.* p. 843.

⁴ Conc. Vasens. can. 2, in Richard, Anal. Concil. i. 515.

⁵ Conc. Rhem. II. can. 15. Quia vero plures (episcopi) contexendis sermonibus non erant, eos lubet sanctorum Patrum Homilias prædicare. Richard, i. 752.

of Rome, and form a valuable commentary on the Articles, as setting forth at greater length the deliberate judgment of the same men who were chiefly concerned in framing them : and although it is not necessary, in subscribing this Article, to give in our adhesion to every opinion contained in these Homilies, and although it would be generally allowed that the practical use of them, as substitutes for sermons in our Churches, has long since passed away, yet as a witness to the teaching of our Church they are valuable even now, and at the time when they were published, amid the dearth of English theology which then prevailed, they must have supplied a very urgent need.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

ARTICULUS XXXVI.

De Episcoporum et Ministrorum Consecratione.

LIBELLUS de consecratione Archiepiscoporum, et Episcoporum, et ordinatione Presbyterorum, et Diaconorum, editus nuper temporibus Edvardi VI. et auctoritate Parliamenti illis ipsis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad eiusmodi consecrationem, et ordinationem necessaria continet: et nihil habet, quod ex se sit aut superstitiosum aut impium: itaque quicumque iuxta ritus illius libri consecrati aut ordinati sunt, ab anno secundo praedicti regis Edvardi usque ad hoc tempus, aut in posterum iuxta eosdem ritus consecrabuntur, aut ordinabuntur, rite, atque ordine, atque legitime statuimus esse, et fore consecratos et ordinatos.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

THE Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering: neither hath it any thing, that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the Rites of that Book, since the second year of the forenamed King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same Rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

IN the original edition of 1552 the Article which stood in the place of the present Article xxxvi., included in its sanction the entire Book of Common Prayer. It then ran as follows:—"The Booke which of very late time was geven to the Church of Englande by the kinges auctoritie, and the Parlamente, conteining the maner and fourme of praiying, and ministring the Sacramentes in the Church of Englande, likewise also the booke of ordring Ministers of the Church, set fourth by the forsaied auctoritie, are godlie, and in no pointe repugnaunt to the holsome doctrine of the Gospel, but agreable thereunto, ferthering and beautifyng the same not a litle, and therefore of al faithfull membres of the Church of Englande, and chieflie of the ministers of the worde, thei ought to be receiued, and allowed with all readinesse of

minde, and thanks geuing, and to bee commended to the people of God."

To understand the force of the Article itself, as well as the reason for this change, it is necessary to trace briefly the history of the Ordinal. From the very earliest ages of the Church it has been the custom, in accordance with both the practice and the express teaching of the Apostles,¹ to set apart the persons who were chosen for the Ministry of the Church² by the laying on of hands and by prayer.³ To this was frequently added in early times the sign of the cross,⁴ and the salutation with the kiss of peace;⁵ but neither of these was of universal obligation. Other ceremonies observed in the Roman Church, such as unction and the delivery of the sacred vessels, with the authoritative commission to offer sacrifice, are of modern introduction.⁶

At the time of the Reformation, a revision of the Ordinal formed a necessary part of the work of the English Church, and under the authority of an Act of Parliament (3 and 4 Ed. vi., c. 12), "The Form and Manner of making and consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," was prepared by a committee of six bishops and six other learned men, and published with the First Prayer Book of Edward vi., in 1549. It was in all essential points the same as that in present use, except that the delivery of the chalice and bread to the Priest, as well as of the Bible, was retained; and in the act of Ordination of Priests, the distinctive words, "for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God," and the corresponding words at the consecration of a Bishop, were not yet inserted.⁷ As the delivery of the chalice with the bread was omitted in the revised Prayer Book of 1552, which was published before even the first edition of the Articles, it is clear that the present Article is in no way concerned with it. It was a very natural ceremony to introduce into such a rite, but was apparently discontinued as not having been con-

¹ See Acts vi. 6, xiv. 23; 2 Tim. i. 6.

² See above, Art. xxiv.

³ Conc. Carth. iv. (A.D. 398), can. 3. Cum presbyter ordinatur, dum Episcopus eum benedicit, superque eius capite manum tenet, omnes qui adsunt presbyteri suas et ipsi manus ibidem ponunt. Cp. Hieron. l. xvi. in Esai. c. 58, quoted in Bingham, Orig. Eccles. iv. vi. 11.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. in Matt. liv. 7. *Κὰν ἀναγεννηθῆναι δέη, σταυρὸς παραγίνεται, κὰν τραφῆναι τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην τροφήν, κὰν χειροτονθῆναι.*

⁵ Const. Apost. viii. 5, quoted by Bingham iv. 6. 13.

⁶ See Bingham ii. xix. 17.

⁷ In the first Book, the Oath of Supremacy was taken in the name of God, all saints, and the holy Evangelist: which was altered in the second to "So help me God through Jesus Christ."

tained in the most ancient rituals, and perhaps in part as having been connected in the Roman Church with the commission to offer sacrifice. The distinctive words of setting apart for the office of a Priest or Bishop respectively, were not added till the reign of Charles II., and therefore the truth of this Article, and with it, the completeness of the Apostolical succession in the Church of England, must be proved independently of their insertion, if at all. On this point, however, it may be sufficient to say that even without the express words, the whole tenor of the services is sufficiently distinct to prove that the commission given is for the work of a Priest in the one case, and of a Bishop in the other, and that their addition, though desirable for the sake of clearness, can make no possible difference in the intention or significance of the respective rites.

Coming to the actual terms of the Article, as it stands in the later editions, we find that it contains three distinct statements, two premisses and a conclusion.

1. The Ordinal, set forth in the time of Edward VI., contains all things necessary to the Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and ordering of Priests and Deacons.

This is directed against the objections of the Romanists, which have in the main been anticipated. They find fault with our ordination, *a.* as failing to maintain direct Apostolical succession of Episcopal ordination at all, owing to the alleged break in the line by the invalid consecration of Archbishop Parker. This was considered in the Introduction to these Lectures.¹ *b.* Because of the omission of rites which they declare to be essential. These we maintain to be either unimportant, as having no place in the Ordinal of the Primitive Church, as in the case of the Chrism, and the presenting of the sacred vessels; or actually founded on serious error, as in their professing to give the power of sacrificing. We not only adhere to the earliest forms in maintaining only the imposition of hands with prayer, but we follow the custom of the Primitive Church, as set forth with great minuteness at the fourth Council of Carthage² in 398, by requiring the Bishop alone to lay his hands upon a deacon, the whole body of priests present to join him in laying their hands upon a priest, and all the Bishops present to lay theirs upon a Bishop. In minor points we claim the right of modifying the Service, in its outline we follow the example of the early Church.

¹ See above, pp. 7-9.

² Conc. Carth. iv. Can. 2, 3, 4.

2. The Ordinal hath not anything that of itself is superstitious and ungodly.

This clause is directed against an opposite class of objections, proceeding mainly from the Puritans, who object that we are guilty of blasphemy in pretending that our Bishops can confer the gift of the Holy Ghost; and in declaring that the priest, in virtue of his ordination, has power to forgive sins. The latter question, so far as it is concerned with the power of excluding from or restoring to the privileges of the Church on earth, has been already considered under Article xxxiii. But that somewhat more than this is meant seems to be clear both from the words of ordination, and from the very authoritative form of absolution put into the mouth of the Priest in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick: "By Christ's authority, committed unto me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Here is not only a restoration to communion with the visible Church, but an express declaration of freedom from the bondage of sin; not a bestowal of pardon for sin such as God alone can give, and such as He has never delegated to any one His power to confer, but a declaration that the barrier which unrepented sin places between the sinner and his God is removed, a declaration uttered on the authority which is conveyed by a commission not only to preach but to *dispense* God's Word, to the effect that God's general promise of forgiveness to the repentant sinner is in this case fulfilled. Only we must remember that there is this limit always understood in this ministration of the priestly office, as in all others whereby God's grace is extended to members of the Church, that the grace proffered is only conveyed to those who come worthily to receive it; a man cannot by a feigned repentance steal pardon of his sins from God, though he may delude God's fallible minister into uttering the words of absolution.

And it is to be further noticed that although, in appointing the words of our Lord to be used in conveying the grace of ordination to the priest, the Church of England directly traces back the institution of her ministry to the ordinance of Christ, yet in order to avoid any appearance of assuming the divine authority in bestowing, as of intrinsic power, the Holy Spirit of God, the Bishop only lays his hand upon the head of the candidate for orders, following the custom of the Apostles,¹ and does not adopt, even symbolically, the act of

¹ Acts vi. 6, xiii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 14, v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6.

Christ, who breathed on the Apostles, as though to show that the Holy Spirit did actually proceed from Him.

The second sentence of the Article, declaring all persons consecrated or ordered according to the Rites appointed in the Prayer Book, whether in the past or in the future, to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered, is a mere formal inference from the propositions that the Ordinal fails neither in excess nor in defect, applying the conclusions already arrived at to the practical vindication of the Orders of the Church of England.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

ARTICULUS XXXVII.

De Civilibus Magistratibus.

REGIA Maiestas in hoc Angliæ regno, ac caeteris eius dominiis, summam habet potestatem, ad quam omnium statuum huius regni, sive illi Ecclesiastici sint, sive Civiles, in omnibus causis suprema gubernatio pertinet, et nulli externæ iurisdictioni est subiecta, nec esse debet.

Cum Regiæ Maiestati summam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi, non damus Regibus nostris aut verbi Dei, aut Sacramentorum administrationem; quod etiam iniunctiones ab Elizabetha Regina nostra, nuper editæ, apertissime testantur: sed eam tantum prærogativam, quam in Sacris Scripturis a Deo ipso omnibus piis Principibus videmus semper fuisse attributam, hoc est, ut omnes status atque ordines fidei suæ a Deo commissos, sive illi Ecclesiastici sint, sive Civiles, in officio contineant, et contumaces ac delinquentes gladio coerceant.

Romanus Pontifex nullam habet iurisdictionem in hoc Regno Angliæ.

Leges Regni possunt Christianos propter capitalia, et gravia crimina, morte punire.

Christianis licet, ex mandato Magistratus, arma portare et iusta bella administrare.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

Of the Civil Magistrates.

THE Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England; and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

The laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the command of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

OF the seven Articles which still remain,¹ there are some which under any circumstances I should feel myself justified in considering very briefly, not so much because they

¹ That is, the Articles subsequent to Article xxxii., the commentary on those intervening being by the Editor.

are unimportant, but because they hardly require proof or illustration. Amongst these are—

Article XXXIII., Of excommunicate persons.

Article XXXVIII., Of Christian men's goods.

Article XXXIX., Of a Christian man's oath.

Others again have been partially anticipated, as Article XXXIV., Of the Traditions of the Church, which was a subject incidentally handled, though of course inadequately, under Article xx.

Similarly Article XXXVI., Of the Consecration of Bishops and Ministers, was anticipated under Article XXIII.

Another would require a lengthened examination of the book of which it sanctions the use, in order to show that it doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times (*i.e.* when it was written), but for this there is manifestly no time; but I may shortly state that in general the doctrine is identical with that already proved in these Articles.

There remains, therefore, only Article XXXVII. to form the subject of the last Lecture. But even of this I can only speak imperfectly, selecting paragraphs one and three, as involving the question of the Pope's supremacy. The importance of this is evident, for upon it really depends the view which the Romanist takes of the other errors of his Church. Be those errors never so palpable, unscriptural, uncatholic, the excuse of a thorough Romanist is that he believes these doctrines, whatever their apparent absurdity or illogicality, because he is bound to obey the supreme head of his Church.

In order to arrive at the idea of what is meant by the Supremacy of the Pope, we must bear in mind that, in accordance with a policy very common with Papists, the extent of dominion involved in the words is variously estimated and defined by its advocates, according to the circumstances of the times. There was a time when nothing less was claimed for the Popes *iure divino* than absolute dominion, both temporal and spiritual, over every human being in this world, whether prince or peasant, man, woman, or child, nay, even over the souls in purgatory, nay, over the angels of God. The records in which these pretensions are set forth are either authoritative documents, I mean possessing a binding legal and canonical authority, still unrepealed; or else the writings of allowed Doctors of that Church, or so-called saints, canonized perhaps for their very flatteries, and never disowned or silenced, or stamped with disapproval, but on the contrary, kept ever ready for use. As specimens of the claim I will read the following:—

Bonifacius VIII. (A.D. 1300) writes : " Declaramus, dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis omni humane creature, subesse Romano pontifici." ¹ And to show what the meaning is of " subesse," we may refer to the earlier part of the same chapter, where it is distinctly stated that both swords are committed to the successors of St. Peter (this being their version of " ecce duo gladii . . . sufficit," in St. Luke xxii. 38) ; though a distinction is made as to the method of using them, the spiritual sword by the priest, the temporal sword by kings and soldiers, " sed ad nutum et patientiam ecclesie." The history of the world affords a fearful comment on the real meaning of these words. It must be further remembered that these words first of all possess authority as part of the Canon law, still unrepealed ; and secondly, are expressly confirmed by a Council, called by the Romanists General, that of the Lateran under Leo x.

At this Council (A.D. 1512) we find Stephen, Bishop of Patraca, in a set sermon before the Council, read these words without any rebuke : " In papa est omnis potestas supra omnes potestates, tam caeli, quam terrae," basing his assertion on our Lord's claim in St. Matt. xxviii. 18.²

Again Durandus says : " Hic est Melchizedech, cuius sacerdotium non est ceteris comparatum ; ille est caput omnium pontificum, a quo illi tanquam a capite membra descendunt, et de cuius plenitudine omnes recipiunt." ³

The extravagance to which the popes' flatterers carried their adulation can hardly be conceived ; that whatsoever he do, no man can ever say to him, " Domine, *cur ita facis?*" that he hath all manner of law and right "*in scrinio pectoris sui*;" " that no mortal man dare reprove him ; that he is fifty-seven times greater than the emperor." ⁴ He allows himself to be addressed " Domine Deus noster Papa." ⁵ " Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter utrumque." ⁶

Now, I do not mean to affirm that these extreme opinions are held universally by all Roman Catholics ; there is manifestly a Cisalpine and a Transalpine view. No one would now think it convenient to assert in terms the universal temporal dominion of the Pope ; yet the law is unrepealed,

¹ Bonifac. Extrav. Comment. de Maior. et Obed. Unam Sanctam. ap. Jewel, Reply, Art. v. vol. ii. 133.

² See Jewel, *ib.* p. 132.

³ Durandus, II. i. *ib.* p. 195.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 316.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 195 (where see Dr. Jelf's note on the genuineness of the passage, which is quoted from Extrav. Johan. xxii. de Verborum signific. In Glossa. cum inter.).

⁶ See Jewel, Reply, Art. xxi. vol. iii. p. 440.

and wherever he can safely do it, the Pope still encroaches on the temporal prince, in such matters as dispensing powers, mixed marriages, appeals (under pretence of spiritual jurisdiction) really and often avowedly interfering with municipal law. But taking them at present at their word, even supposing the claim to be only a spiritual one, what does this amount to? It is a claim to spiritual jurisdiction over the souls and consciences of every human being in all parts of the world; a claim on the part of the Bishop of Rome to be Sovereign Pontiff, Bishop of Bishops, Universal or Œcumenical Bishop, the Vicar or Vicegerent of Christ on earth; to be obeyed as if he were Christ Himself; to be the centre of all appeals, the fountain of all honour; one who can dispense with even moral and religious obligations; one, for instance, who could grant a dispensation, as he has done, for the marriage of a brother and sister. I have no time to give authorities, but these are the facts, which public documents, never yet withdrawn, substantiate. It may be and is true, that many individual members of the Church of Rome, in their inmost consciences, repudiate this monstrous anti-christian tyranny; but the claim survives, and on all suitable occasions is acted on.

Now the point we have shortly to consider is whether there is any real foundation for this claim,—I do not say in reason, for that might have been superseded by a positive command of Christ; but any foundation in Scripture or in primitive antiquity. Let us first state the ground generally on which the advocates of the Papacy would defend their pretensions.

It is said, then, that the Bishop of Rome, being the successor of St. Peter in that see, inherits all his privileges (notwithstanding the fact that the miraculous and supernatural powers of the Apostle do not reappear in the Pope), whatsoever they were; but that St. Peter was the Prince of the Apostles, and as such had jurisdiction over them; that the eleven Apostles and St. Paul were not equal in power to St. Peter; and that consequently the Pope has jurisdiction over all bishops, as the successors of the other Apostles; that he is in fact in an exclusive sense the Universal Patriarch, or Bishop of the whole world, the whole world being his diocese.

Now the Scriptural foundation upon which all this superstructure rests is just St. Matt. xvi. 18, 19: *Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μού τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ᾗδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς· καὶ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν δήσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται*

δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

But this authority is negatived by the fact that the early Fathers interpret this passage not of St. Peter, as if he were the *πέτρα*, but of the confession which he had made of Christ.

So St. Chrysostom : καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ . . . τούτεστι τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας.¹ Cyril of Alexandria : Πέτραν οἶμαι παρωνύμως ἕτερον οὐδὲν ἢ τὴν ἀκατάσειστον τοῦ μαθητοῦ πίστιν ἀποκαλῶν.² St. Augustine : "Petra erat Christus, super quod fundamentum etiam ipse aedificatus est Petrus."³ And no less than thirty-six such authorities have been collected to the same purport.⁴ But the plainest of all is Origen : "Petra est, quicumque est discipulus Christi . . . et super talem petram construitur omnis ecclesiastica doctrina. . . . Quod super unum illum Petrum tantum existimas aedificari totam ecclesiam, quid dicturus es de Johanne filio tonitruī, et apostolorum unoquoque? Num audebimus dicere, quod adversus Petrum unum non praevaliturae sint portae inferorum? . . . An soli Petro dantur a Christo claves regni caelorum?"⁵

Now let me ask whether it is credible that such expressions as this, from writers during the first five centuries, are consistent with the existence of a belief, or a shadow of it, not only that the Bishop of Rome was supreme, but that St. Peter himself, through whom he professes to claim, was the acknowledged ruler over the other Apostles.

The second text alleged is St. John xxi. 15, but here surely there neither is, nor was there by the Fathers discovered, the least *exclusive* authority even over the sheep, and not the smallest over other Pastors. It was simply (as the best commentators think), the threefold restoration to his pastoral privileges, corresponding to the loss of these privileges by this threefold denial.

The last passage which has any shadow of bearing upon the question is St. Matt. x. 2, *πρῶτος Σίμων*, a distinction not found in the catalogue as given by St. Mark and St. Luke, but marking doubtless a kind of precedency, such as among our own Bishops is given to those of London and Winchester; and this primacy of rank and honour no one would be inclined to dispute in St. Peter, though they might well dispute it in

¹ Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 54.

² Cyril Alex. de Trin. Dial. 4.

³ Aug. in Joann. Evang. Tract. cxxiv. 5.

⁴ See Jewel, Reply, Art. iv. vol. ii. 134.

⁵ Origen in Matth. Tract. i. sub in.

his pretended successor the Pope; though even here it is to be remarked that a primacy even of rank is implied as granted by common consent to St. James, when he presided over the Council at Jerusalem, a fact quite inconsistent with St. Peter's having any claim to that honour. But as for a primacy of jurisdiction or power, there is not the least shadow of it, as we shall see was perceived by the early Christian writers; and on the other side is the fact that St. Paul, the last of the Apostles, and, as he calls himself, the least, was so far from submitting to St. Peter, that he withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.¹ How is it possible that he, or any other Apostle, could venture to do this, if there were any truth in the hypothesis that St. Peter had authority over the other Apostles *ex iure divino*? Which of the highest archbishops would have dared to do this in the time of Gregory VII., when this supremacy had been established by the grossest usurpation which the world's annals record? What Cardinal would have withstood Gregory VII. to the face, because he was to be blamed?

The longer these pretended scriptural authorities are examined, the more it will be found that they utterly fail: and if they fail with respect to any supremacy of St. Peter, then *a fortiori*, by our opponents' own showing, they are utterly inapplicable to justify the usurpation of the pope.

The same result follows from an examination of the Fathers of the first six centuries. It shows how they read Holy Scripture in their day; and what is hardly less conclusive, what was their practice towards the Bishop of Rome. We may take the following as specimens.

1. We find in fact that the Bishops generally acted, though in communion with each other, yet in point of jurisdiction totally independently of each other and of Rome. This was always the case with respect to the Eastern Church, even long before the Schism. Some instances of submission to the judgment of Rome about the fourth century are manifest or even confessed forgeries. Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II., uses these words, "Ad episcopos Romanos aliquis sane, sed tamen parvus, ante Nicaenum concilium respectus erat."² The Bishops of Rome did not preside over the first principal Councils, nor call them together. St. Cyprian and the African Council positively declined and repudiated all appeals to Rome, or all interference of the Bishop of Rome with their own ecclesiastical affairs: whoever appealed to Rome was anathematized. How ever can we account for

¹ Gal. ii. 11.

² Ap. Jewel, Reply, Art. iv. vol. ii. 219.

this, except on the ground that the Saint and Martyr Cyprian had never dreamt of supremacy *ex iure divino*, or any supremacy at all?

Again, in certain councils at Carthage and Hippo Regius, in 397, a canon was passed as follows: "Primae sedis episcopus non presbyterorum Princeps, aut supremus Presbyter appellabitur, aut alio eiusmodi titulo insignietur, sed solum dicetur primae sedis episcopus."¹

The sixth Council of Carthage, in 418, at which St. Augustine was present, positively declined appeals to Rome, and proved that the pretended sanction of them by the Council of Nicæa was a forgery.²

2. Private writings of the Fathers are as inconsistent with the Romish pretensions as their public acts. St. Cyprian says "Quamvis Dominus apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat—tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis eiusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et caeteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio praediti, et honoris et potestatis."³ So St. Chrysostom, commenting on St. Paul's visit to St. Peter (Gal. i. 18), says that he was *μηδὲν δεόμενος Πέτρου, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότημος ὢν αὐτῷ*.⁴ And even the title of "universalis episcopus" is called by St. Gregory, *typhum superbiae, nomen novum, vocabulum temerarium, stultum, superbum, pompaticum, perversum, superstitiosum, profanum, scelestum, nomen erroris, nomen singularitatis, nomen vanitatis, nomen hypocriseos, nomen blasphemiae*.⁵

What then, it may be asked, is the foundation for this unscriptural and uncatholic claim?

The answer is simple forgeries, such as the Epistles of Anacletus, and the Epistles Decretal, known by the name of Pseudo Isidorianae.⁶

I might go on, did time permit, to show the independence of the Kings and Church of England from the earliest times: but must conclude by referring you, for a fuller discussion of the subject, to Barrow's masterly treatise on the Supremacy of the Pope.

¹ Conc. Carth. III. can. 26. Hippon. can. 27: Richard, Anal. Conc. i. 341, 332.

² Jewel, Reply, Art. iv. vol. ii. 158.

³ Cypr. de Simplicitate Praelator. p. 195, ap. Jewel, *ib.* p. 170.

⁴ Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. i. ap. Jewel, *ib.* p. 200.

⁵ The above expressions are collected from various parts of St. Gregory's Epistles by Jewel, *ib.* p. 143.

⁶ See Jewel, *ib.* p. 136, and Dr. Jelf's note.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

ARTICULUS XXXVIII.

De Ellicita Bonorum Communi- catione.

FACULTATES et bona Christianorum non sunt communia, quoad ius et possessionem, ut quidam Anabaptistae iactant: debet tamen quisque de his quae possidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

Of Christian Men's Goods, which are not common.

THE Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

THE only difference in the various editions of this Article is in the title, which in 1552 ran as follows, "Christianorum bona non sunt communia;" "Christian men's goods are not common." The present obscure Latin title is interpreted by Dr. Hey as meaning "of the unlawfulness of acting as if all goods were common."

The necessity for it is directly attributed to the communistic tenets of the Anabaptists, who first under Thomas Münzer at Zwickau, in 1521,¹ and afterwards more violently under John Bockhold of Leyden at Münster, in 1534, asserted among their other tenets that all who were admitted to the "true baptism" must have everything in common.²

That such a theory was never prevalent in the early Church may be proved by numerous passages from the Fathers.

In the Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, we find the distinction of rich and poor recognised, in the injunction that the rich should not neglect the poor, and that the poor should give thanks to God for raising up one to

¹ Hardwick, Hist. of the Reformation, p. 275.

² Gieseler's Eccl. Hist. v. 344 (Eng. Trans.).

supply his need.¹ Similarly Justin Martyr bears testimony that "those that have plenty and are willing so to do, give each according to his disposition what he wills."² So Clement of Alexandria says that "we should accept of riches as is agreeable to reason, and give a share of our wealth as friends to our neighbours, alike avoiding meanness and ostentation."³ And, not to multiply passages, Augustine argues the question at great length in a letter to Hilarius, and justifies the retention of private property in the Church.⁴ The only passage that is adduced on the other side is one from Tertullian, in which he says that "all things are common amongst us except our wives: in that only we disallow community in which alone it is practised by other men;"⁵ but even in this passage the phraseology seems rather to point to a voluntary sharing of goods than to communism, and this he had expressly declared a little before, saying that "each person makes a moderate contribution on one day in the month, or when he will and if he can; for there is no compulsion, but all gifts are voluntary."

From the Bible the passages that are adduced against the Article are our Lord's instruction to the young man to sell all that he had and give to the poor;⁶ and the statement in Acts iv. 32, that none of the multitude said "that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." But from this latter passage itself it is clear that the owners of property still remained in possession of it, only treating it as held in trust for the common weal; and the rebuke of St. Peter to Ananias shows that he did not blame him for refusing to part with all his property, but for falsely claiming credit for a self-renunciation which he had not made. And the case of the rich young man is introduced as exceptional; the injunction laid on him is nowhere uttered in a general form, and it was probably meant to meet a special weakness which our Lord discerned in an otherwise estimable character.

¹ Clem. Rom. ad Cor. c. xxxvii. 'Ο πλούσιος ἐπιχορηγείτω τῷ πτωχῷ, ὁ δὲ πτωχὸς εὐχαριστεῖτω τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δι' οὗ ἀναπληρωθῇ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑστέρημα.

² Just. Mart. Apol. i. c. 67. Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δὲ βούλεται δίδωσι.

³ Clem. Alex. Paed. iii. 6. Πλούτου τοίνυν μεταληπτέον ἀξιολόγως, καὶ μεταδοτέον φιλανθρώπως, οὐ βαναύσως, οὐδὲ ἀλαζονικῶς.

⁴ August. Epist. clvii. c. 4.

⁵ Tertull. Apol. c. 39. Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos praeter uxores. In isto loco consortium solvimus in quo solo caeteri homines consortium exercent.

⁶ St. Matt. xix. 21.

And on the other hand, the very passages in Holy Scripture which inculcate the duty of Christian liberality presuppose the continued existence of personal rights in property. For if all things were in common, there would have been no meaning in the declaration that "it is more blessed to give than to receive;"¹ that "God is well pleased with such sacrifices" as doing good and communicating to others;² nor in the injunction to Timothy to "charge them that are rich in this world that . . . they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate;"³ and that of our Lord to "give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away."⁴ Nor again could the duty of providing for one's own family have been placed on so high a footing as it is in 1 Tim. v. 8, where the man who neglects it is declared to deny the faith, and to be worse than an infidel. And it is clear that the encouragement which such a doctrine would have given to the idle and improvident would have gone far to corrupt society, and would have set Christianity in direct opposition to the advance of civilisation in the world.

But in truth the general tendency of mankind is so much the other way,—to be too chary rather than extravagant in ministering to the wants of others, that having entered on the subject, the framers of the Article thought it well to add the second proposition, as a solemn testimony to the importance of beneficence in the scheme of Christianity. It is a duty which theoretically few will question; it is laid before us continually by our Lord and His Apostles, so that it would be easy to add to the passages cited above in proof of it; but it is practically so alien to the natural tendencies of man's heart, that it appeared dangerous to insist upon the right of retaining a man's property for himself without impressing on him at the same time the absolute necessity of cheerful, liberal almsgiving.

¹ Acts xx. 35.² Heb. xiii. 16.³ 2 Tim. vi. 18, 19.⁴ St. Matt. v. 42.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

ARTICULUS XXXIX.

De Ecce Jurando.

QUEMADMODUM iuramentum vanum et lemerarium a Domino nostro IESU CHRISTO, et Apostolo eius Iacobo, Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur; ita Christianorum religionem minime prohibere censemus quin iubente Magistratu in causa fidei et charitatis iurare liceat, modo id fiat iuxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in iustitia, in iudicio, in veritate.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

Of a Christian Man's Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and James His Apostle, so we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in justice, judgement, and truth.

EXCEPT in the title, which in 1551 took the form of a proposition, "Licet Christianis iurare," "Christian men may take an oath," there is no difference of moment between the various editions and versions of this Article.

Like the preceding Article, it is probably directed immediately against the Anabaptists, who declared that every kind of oath was contrary to God's Word. Their views on this point were shared by the Waldenses, as by the Quakers at the present day, but they at no time appear to have prevailed widely in the Church.

In the writings of the Fathers, though we find continual warnings not only against false swearing, but against the multiplication of unnecessary oaths,—as in Cyril of Alexandria, "Let yea and nay, amongst those that have chosen to lead the best life, have the use and power of an oath, and let our conversation be rightly confirmed, for so it will follow that men will be bound to believe us;"¹ and in St. Augustine, "It is much safer, so far as rests with us, never to swear, so that there should be found in our mouths, yea yea,

¹ Cyril Alex. de Ador. in Spirit. et Verit. vi. (vol. i. p. 214).

may nay, according to the warning of our Saviour; "¹—yet the very same writers, almost in the same breath, testify to the lawfulness of oaths when there is sufficient occasion for their use.²

And this guarded, careful use of oaths, on special solemn occasions, is exactly what we gather to be lawful from the testimony of Holy Scripture. On the one hand, we have the warning of our Lord, "I say unto you, swear not at all,"³ and of St. James, "Above all things, my brethren, swear not;"⁴ on the other, we have a chain of evidence, both from precept and example, that swearing in the cause of justice, judgment, and truth, is not displeasing in the sight of God.

It is urged by those who repudiate all oaths that the two passages quoted are so explicit as to admit of neither mistake nor compromise, and that every kind of swearing must thenceforth have been a sin in any Christian. But if we look at the context of the passages, we find that in the former certainly, and apparently in the latter, the whole question is about the use of oaths as a confirmation of the truth in common conversation, and these, which are not defended by the Article, may very well be allowed to be universally unlawful.

On the other hand, we have the command of God, referred to in the Article itself, "Thou shalt swear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness;"⁵ and this in a passage which, though occurring in the Old Testament, is generally held to relate to the reign of the Messiah; and in the Epistle to the Hebrews an oath is spoken of without condemnation as an end of all strife, and is justified by the example of God Himself, who, "willing more abundantly to show unto the heirs of promise the immutability of His counsel, confirmed it by an oath."⁶ Moreover St. Paul, when he wishes to add solemnity to his assertion of a truth, repeatedly calls on God to witness what he says, in one passage even imprecating God's wrath upon himself if what he says is false.⁷ So in the Revelation, the angel that stood

¹ August. Epist. clvii. (ad Hilarium), c. v. 40.

² Cyril Alex. *l.c.*: Εἰ δὲ ἀτιμάζοιτο πρὸς τινὸς τὸ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ, τῶν ὄρκων ἡ χρεία τετράφθω λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ μέizon ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς, μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ πᾶσαν κτίσιν. August. *l.c.*: "Non quia peccatum est verum iurare, sed quia gravissimum peccatum est falsum iurare; quo citius cadit qui consuevit iurare." Cp. de Serm. Dom. i. 51: "Tu non malum facis, qui bene uteris iuratione."

³ St. Matt. v. 34.

⁴ St. James v. 12.

⁵ Jer. iv. 2.

⁶ Heb. vi. 16, 17.

⁷ 2 Cor. i. 23: Μάρτυρα τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν. Cp. Rom. i. 9, ix. 1, Phil. i. 8, 1 Thess. ii. 5, 10, Gal. i. 20, etc.

upon the sea "sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever . . . that there should be time no longer."¹ And that the highest testimony might not be wanting, our Lord Himself, when the high priest, in the exercise of his authority, adjured Him by the living God to tell him whether He were indeed the Christ, admitted both the lawfulness and the force of such an appeal by breaking the silence which He had hitherto observed.²

And so, while we banish all light and trivial oaths from our ordinary conversation, while we may be thankful for legislation which reduces the number of unnecessary oaths, especially oaths relating to the future performance of duties, while we even acknowledge that all oaths are but a necessary evil forced upon us by the want of truthfulness too prevalent among men, yet we cannot refuse to acknowledge the lawfulness of judicial oaths, administered by duly constituted authority, as a solemn means of eliciting the truth, for the furtherance of the cause of justice in the world.

¹ Rev. x. 6.

² St. Matt. xxvi. 63.

LIST OF AUTHORS

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The figures before the names mark the centuries in which the authors flourished.

- | | |
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